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TRANSACTIONS
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VOL. 34

1906 - 7

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF JAPAN

VOL. XXXIV

1906—1907

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Printed in Japan, 1964.

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXIV: PART I.

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YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, L'D.
TOKYO: Z. P. MARUYA CO., L'D
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & CO., L'D.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

AUGUST, 1906.

PRICE - - - - - - - - - One Yen.

PRINTED AT THE FUKUIN PRINTING CO., NO. 81, YAMASHITA-CHO, YOKOHAMA, JAPAN.

JAPANESE FEUDAL LAW:

THE

INSTITUTES OF JUDICATURE:

BEING A TRANSLATION OF

"GO SEIBAI SHIKIMOKU";

THE MAGISTERIAL CODE OF THE HOJO POWER-HOLDERS

(A.D. 1232)

BY

JOHN CAREY HALL.

1906.

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INSTITUTORY OATH,

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THE HOJO CODE OF JUDICATURE.

BY

JOHN CAREY HALL.

In laying before the Society a translation of the Magisterial Code of the Hojo Power-holders, it is desirable that it should be prefaced by a statement of the position which this enactment occupies in the field of Japan's legislative development and also by a brief account of the circumstances under which it came to be enacted. To this may be added a summary of its contents and a word or two as to the bibliography of the subject. Anything I may have to say by way of sociological and jural comment must be reserved for another occasion.

The whole of the statute law of old Japan, including both the theocratic and the feudal periods, from the consolidation of the state in the seventh century of our era to near the close of the Tokugawa period in the nineteenth, has been comprised in one octavo volume of less than a thousand pages, entitled *Nihon Kodai Hoten*, the Ancient Statute Laws of Japan, edited by Mr. Hagino and three collaborateurs.

Of this book, two-fifths of the bulk holds all the legislation of the theocratic or Imperial period, extending from the seventh to near the end of the twelfth century; whilst the laws of the feudal period, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, fill three-fifths. It thus appears that

the six centuries of feudal regime were somewhat more prolific in legislation than the six centuries that preceded them. Now at the very beginning of feudal legislation stands this tiny Code of fifty-one articles, which was, if not promulgated at least propounded, by the third of the line of the Hojo Power-holders at Kamakura in the year-period of Joyei, (otherwise pronounced Teiyei) corresponding to A.D. 1232. It is therefore the earliest in time of the feudal enactments of Japan.

But it is something more than that: for an inspection of the subsequent legislation of the Ashikaga and Tokugawa lines of *Shoguns* shows that their statutes were based upon those of their predecessors in power, the Hojo *Shikken*. After its promulgation in 1232 this Code of Judicature not only continued in force for a century, but became the nucleus around which a series of supplementary enactments continued to grow. These accretions amounted in bulk to five or six times the size of the initial code. And when, after the overthrow of the Hojo sway in 1333 and a momentary restoration of the imperial rule, the second or Ashikaga line of *Shoguns* inaugurated its domination, its founder followed the example of the Hojo rulers in issuing a short Code, which, adopting the main results of the Hojo regime, was developed by later enactments into a body of law many times the size of its initial *Shikimoku*, or Code, of the Kemmu year-period, A.D. 1335. When, after the abolition of the Ashikaga power, and the unifying work of Oda Nobunaga and Taiko Hideyoshi, the Tokugawa line succeeded to the sway, at the close of the sixteenth century, their lawgivers had a developed feudal society to deal with, such as the legislation of the four previous centuries had helped to mould. The Hojo Code had reference only to the feudal lords who had followed the fortunes of the short-lived Minamoto line and its allies and successors, the Hojo clan; but the Tokugawa rulers had one set of laws for the *Kuge*, or Court nobility, another for the *Buke*, or feudal Lords, and a third for the *Bushi*, or *Samurai*, their retainers. This extended scope of the

Tokugawa power is historically traceable in large measure to the firm foundation laid by the political and magisterial institutions of the Hojo *Shikken*. It would therefore be hardly an exaggeration to say that this first essay in feudal legislation put forth by the Kamakura government early in the thirteenth century is the taproot of the whole subsequent growth of Japanese feudal law.

So much for its historical position as a link in the chain of national legislation. We may now glance at the state of affairs that gave occasion for its being enacted.

It would be impossible to set forth, in these prefatory remarks, an adequate sketch of the underlying economic causes which resulted in the establishment of a feudal constitution of society in Japan. The main cause was the granting away of the taxable land of the state to Court nobles, favourities and concubines, in addition to the endowments of monasteries, temples and shrines, and the exemption of these demesnes, manors and benefices, both from the burdens of taxation and from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Governors. This prodigal dissipation of the national sustentation reserves was the worst of all the abuses by which the Imperial authority brought on its own destruction. But the subject is here merely mentioned in passing. All that can now be attempted is to trace in rough outline the course of the feudal evolution as marked by prominent political events preceding the transfer of the seat of government from Kyoto to Kamakura towards the end of the twelfth century. Even this superficial retrospect requires to begin with a passing reference to the dawn of Japan's authentic history.

The loose, theocratic authority of the early *Mikadoes* underwent a great change by the introduction of Buddhism in the middle of the sixth century; and a further radical transformation in the middle of the seventh century by the wholesale adoption of Chinese institutions closely imitated from the then recently established Imperialism of the resplendent Tang

dynasty. An elaborate system of Court ranks and offices was introduced and also a new administrative machinery for the provinces, under which the chief duty of the local authorities consisted in the levying of the rice-tax and forwarding it to the Capital by means of the *corvee* or labour-tax. These sweeping innovations, which took over half a century to effect, are compendiously known as the Reform of the Taikwa period, by far the most important movement in Japanese history previous to the Meiji restoration. A thoroughly competent sociological study of this event has been given to English readers in an excellent book entitled "The Early Institutional Life of Japan" by Mr. K. Asakawa, which was published last year by the Waseda University. Japanese scholars nowadays are generally agreed that this wholesale importation of Chinese political arrangements in the seventh century was premature and excessive. Among its consequences in the centuries following was an increasing divergence of interests between the nobility of the Court and the great country families, who for various reasons were shut out from preferment at the Capital. Upon the latter devolved the task of winning by the strong hand from the Ainu aborigines on the Eastern and North eastern frontiers the additional lands required by the increase of population of the Yamato conquerors. At first desultory and sporadic, this struggle for the land necessitated military organization, and the control of the army soon became an object of contention between the two powerful families, the Taira and Minamoto, otherwise known as the Hei and the Gen. After their rivalry at Court had continued for some generations there came an open rupture in the middle of the twelfth century. At first the Taira were successful and all but extirpated the Minamoto clan. But after some twenty years of Taira domination, Minamoto no Yoritomo, at the behest of the Imperial family, raised the standard of revolt in the Kwanto, 1180, A.D., aided by the resources and influence of the powerful Hojo clan of Idzu, to which his wife, the lady Masa,

belonged. After six years of warfare the Taira were crushed and exterminated. In 1184 Yoritomo chose Kamakura as the headquarters of his military administration. In 1189 he attacked and defeated the semi-independent Fujiwara ruler of the two great Northern provinces, Mutsu and Dewa, thereby bringing this part of Japan for the first time under effective political control. In 1192 the second rank of nobility and the office of Commander in-Chief was conferred on him, and around this nucleus most of the powers of sovereignty were soon concentrated.

It was now manifest to all men that the power of the State had passed from the hands of the Court at Kyoto to those of the Minamoto head of the Army; and men of intellect and ambition left the capital and took service under the new administration. Foremost among those was Oye no Hiromoto, ancestor of the feudal Lords of Satsuma; and when Yoritomo died in 1199, A.D., this statesman and the lady Masa directed by their wise counsels the course of affairs for over a quarter of a century longer. Another notable acquisition to the civilian branch of the Kamakura administration was the Miyoshi house, jurists by profession, from whom the presidents of the new tribunal, the *Monjusho*, were chosen from one generation to another.

The ambition of the Hojo family hastened the extinction of Yoritomo's posterity in 1219, and a puppet Commander-in-Chief, aged 2, of the Fujiwara clan, but a grandson of lady Masa, was brought down from Kyoto to Kamakura, the control of affairs remaining in the hands of Hojo Yoshitoki, Lady Masa's brother, with the modest but straightforward designation of *Shikken* or Power-holder.

But the power of the State was not allowed to pass from the hands of one military family to another as if it were a matter of course. The Imperial Court made an effort to wrest back its sovereign rights by arraying the warriors of the West of Japan against those of the East. The struggle was short,

sharp and decisive. It is known in history as the military disturbance of Shokiu, A.D. 1221. It resulted in the banishment of two ex-Emperors and the reigning Emperor, the confiscation of the estates of their adherents and the strengthening and extension of the Hojo power. The foundations of the power had been laid when Hojo Tokimasa, as his son-in-law Yoritomo's representative at Kyoto, after the destruction of the Taira, induced the Emperor in A.D. 1189 to sanction the appointment by Yoritomo of *Shugo*, or Protectors, in each of the Provinces, of *Jito*, or Land-Reeves, in all the townships, and police in the villages, and the imposition of a tax of about a bushel of rice per acre to support this military administration alongside of the the existing civil officials holding their appointments from the Emperor. These Protectors in the course of time supplanted the civil governors of provinces in much the same way as the Intendants appointed by Richelieu in the provinces of France usurped by degrees the power formerly exercised by the great French nobles.

The leading events which marked the gradual transference of the power of government from the Court nobles at Kyoto to the feudal barons at Kamakura may be summarized thus:—

939 A.D. Taira no Masakado, on being refused the appointment of *Kebiishi* (Commissioner of Police at the Capital) turns traitor and preclaims himself the new Taira King in the Kwanto; but is defeated and slain the following year.

1156–1159. Struggle between the Taira and Minamoto families for the control of the army; the Taira win. 1160. Taira no Kiyomori is appointed *Gon Dainagon* (Acting Councillor of State), being the first case of a military noble being appointed to a civil office at Court.

1167. Kiyomori becomes *Daijō-Daijin* (Chief Minister of State), appoints members of his family to all the high offices at Court and to the Governorships of over 30 provinces.

1168–1180. Kiyomori directs State affairs from his own mansion at Rokuhara, marries his daughter to the Emperor

and raises her son to the throne at the age of 3. He thus, in addition to holding the military power, fills the place formerly occupied by the Fujiwara family at Court.

1180. Minamoto Yoritomo, in banishment at Idzu, under care of the Hojo family, receives a secret imperial commission to rise and overthrow the Taira tyranny.

Kiyomori removes the Court from Kyoto to Fukuhara, at Hiogo.

1181. Yoritomo takes the field against the Taira.

1182. Kiyomori dies and the Taira flee westward.

1183. New Emperor installed without the sacred insignia.

1184. Yoritomo makes Kamakura his capital, confirms the feudal tie with the Kwanto vassals, and establishes the *Samurai-Dokoro*, the *Kumonjo* and the *Monjusho*.

1185. The Taira exterminated at the battle of Dan-no-ura.

1186. New military tax imposed, and *Shugo* and *Jito* appointed throughout the Empire.

1189. Yoritomo invades and annexes Mutsu and Dewa, thus reducing the whole Eastern half of Japan under his direct sway.

1190. Yoritomo visits Kyoto and the Emperor.

1192. Yoritomo appointed *Sei-i Tai Shogun*.

1199. Death of Yoritomo, aged 53.

1200–1202. Yori-iye succeeds to his father's possessions; his mother Masago organizes a Council of Government, with her father Hojo Tokimasa as president and Oye Hiromoto and twelve of the chief vassals as members; Yori-iye receives the appointment of *Shogun*.

1203. Yori-iye is forced by Tokimasa to abdicate, and is afterwards slain: his brother Sanetomo succeeds.

1219. Sanetomo assassinated at the instigation of Hojo Yoshitoki: Thus ending the Minamoto line.

1221. The war of Shokiu, and defeat of the attempt of the Imperial family to get back the governing power.

1225. Hojo Yasutoki succeeds his father as *Shikken*: death of Masago and of Oye Hiromoto.

1232. Code of Judicature drawn up and distributed.

We may now glance at the institutions through which the sway of the military chieftains at Kamakura was exercised. These were threefold in respect of situation and authority. First of all came the controlling organization at the new capital Kamakura. Next in importance came the delicate arrangements required at Kyoto for making the military yoke sit as easily as might be possible on the necks of the Imperial family and Court nobility at the old capital, and lastly the subsisting authority of the Civil Governors in the provinces had to be treated with care in view of the large powers given to the recently established Protectors and Land-Reeves, whose main function it was to maintain the efficiency of the feudal militia and its commissariat supplies; for the Hojo rulers honestly intended that their military institutions should merely supplement and not, as eventually happened, supersede the Imperial authorities.

At Kamakura there were three supreme boards of control. The Council of government, presided over by Oye no Hiromoto, at first bore the unpretentious designation of *Kumonjo*, or Place of Public Documents, but in a few years' time this was boldly replaced by the name *Mandokoro*, which is a contraction of *Matsuri-dokoro*, or Place of Government, a title which the Fujiwara Regents at Kyoto had not hesitated to bestow on their wives and mothers. After establishing the feudal relation with his followers and confirming the estates previously granted to or held by them, Yoritomo next established, under the name of *Samurai-dokoro*, or Place of Service, an office for the probation and selection of retainers of merit and talent, which had the control of official appointments and promotions: and last but not least, he established an office called *Monjusho*, or Place of Enquiry and Comment, which was in essence a Court of Justice, dealing with disputes arising between the feudal retainers and with offences committed by

them; the Provincial Governors of the old Imperial regime being allowed to retain their normal jurisdiction over the rest of the people, that is, the common folk, farmers, artisans and merchants. For extending the control of the central councils at Kamakura to the *Samurai* and clergy of the province, *Bugyo*, or Magistrates of various kinds, were appointed with powers to decide civil and criminal cases in first instance.

This administrative organization was applied to the Eastern half of Japan, called the Kwanto, including in its more extended sense, the whole of the country East of the Hakone barrier. But for the older half of the Empire, lying West of that barrier and owning for centuries back the sole control of the Court at Kyoto, a further special provision against reactionary movements was required. A strict watch had to be kept on the Court and its discontented and intriguing nobles: and the dignity of the position required that this spying duty should be done by an official of high rank, clothed with discretionary power to deal with emergencies. In short, a branch office of the Kamakura administration had to be established in the Capital itself conveniently near to the Palace. The *Shogun's* representative accordingly fixed his residence in the South-East suburb of the city, then called Rokuhara, near the present Kiomidzu quarter. After the Shokiu disturbance in 1221 the first representative or Resident of the Kamakura Shogunate was the author of this code, Hojo Yasutoki, who was assisted in his onerous and multifarious duties by his uncle Hojo Tokifusa; and they had at length to divide the work between them, each in a separate palace. Hence the *Shogun's* authorities at Kyoto were sometimes referred to as the two Rokuharas. The duties required a very large staff of officials. There was a *Hyojoshu*, or Council of Government, a *Samurai Dokoro* or Headquarters Staff Office, and a *Monjusho*, or Law Court, just as at Kamakura itself, but acting under the latter's directions in all important matters.

The Rokuhara branch office was also indispensable for

another purpose. The Emperor, shorn as he was of all real authority, remained nevertheless, the sole fountain of honour. The scale of ranks, and the titles of the old offices continued as before and were as eagerly coveted by the feudal vassals as ever they had been by the Court nobles themselves. To prevent ambitious applications and intrigues on the part of its greater vassals, and make the Kamakura authorities the sole avenue of access to Imperial favour was an important branch of the duties of the Rokuhara lieutenancy.

When Hojo Yasutoki, the third of his line, succeeded in 1225 to his father's position as Power-holder for the puppet *Shogun*, the society of the new military capital of Kamakura was in a state of not very stable equilibrium. No doubt the peasantry throughout the empire were content, for the taxes had been lightened. Formerly the farmer had to give up seven-tenths of the annual produce of his land in payment of taxes, imperial and provincial; the Hojo reduced the rate to one half. But the situation of the governing military class was not so settled as was that of the governed mass of the nation. Emancipated from the control of the Imperial Court and from the jurisdiction of its provincial Governors, the warriors had as yet no law but the will of their feudal superiors. For the settlement of disputes amongst them and for the punishment of offences recourse was often had to arbitrary decrees. It is told of the second Minamoto *Shogun*, Yori-iye, that when a dispute respecting boundaries was brought before him for adjudication he drew his pen through the middle of the plan, saying he had no time for enquiry into detail and that in future such disputes must be settled in the same way: if the parties were dissatisfied with that mode of judicature let them not have disputes. Far different was the spirit in which Hojo Yasutoki exercised the power. The first fifteen days of every month were given up to judicature. He caused a bell to be hung at the gate of the Record Office, and when a suitor struck it his petition or complaint was at once attended to. Decisions were pronounced

on the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth days of the month, important and difficult cases being first discussed at meetings of the Council of Government. It was after some years' experience of this judicial work and of the legislative needs of his time that he drew up his code of judicature.

It consists of fifty-one sections or heads of law, followed by a solemn institutory vow or Oath. The subjects dealt with may be briefly indicated as follows :—

Heads of Laws.

1.—Shinto Shrines and festivals to be kept up.
2.—Buddhist temples to be kept in repair and the services performed.
3.—Protectors of Provinces must confine themselves to their military and police duties and not interfere with the Civil Authorities, viz : the Provincial Governors and Lords of Manors.
4.—Protectors must refrain from arbitrary confiscation of offenders property and report serious cases to Kamakura for judgment.
5.—Land-Reeves must not encroach on the vested rights of Lords of Manors as regards land-tax.
6.—The ancient Provincial and Manorial jurisdictions to continue as before, without interference from or appeals to Kamakura.
7.—Grants of fiefs made since the beginning of the Kamakura epoch confirmed, and secured against litigious attacks.
8.—Possession of fief for 20 years validates title.
9.—Discretionary powers given to deal with rebellious plots.
10.—Discrimination to be made as regards criminality of parents and sons in cases of murder and other crimes of violence.
11.—Wife to be deemed accessory to husband's crime, if premeditated.

12.—Insulting and abusive language to be dealt with criminally.

13.—Assault and battery to be punished according to social standing of offender.

14.—Principal to be responsible for his Deputy's wrong doing.

15.—Forgery and slander of title to be punished in accordance with social standing of offender.

16.—Of the lands which were confiscated in consequence of the Military Disturbance of Shokiu: questions of title cannot now be re-opened, but clemency to be exercised in certain cases.

17.—Discrimination of guilt to be made as between fathers and sons in cases where either took part with the capital in the Military Disturbance of Shokiu (1221).

18.—Assignments of fiefs to daughters to be revocable at parents' discretion.

19.—Of ungrateful vassal kinsmen who fail in feudal fealty towards the posterity of their original benefactor.

20.—Fiefs revert to parent, being grantor, when the son, being the grantee predeceases the parent.

21.—When a wife or concubine being grantee (assignee) of a fief from the husband, is afterwards divorced, she is to retain the fief unless guilty of misconduct.

22.—Deserving son may not be wholly disinherited: one-fifth of fief to be his portion.

23.—Women possessed of fiefs may adopt heirs.

24.—Widows who marry again to forfeit the fiefs received from late husbands.

25.—If vassals in the Kwanto marry their daughters to Court nobles the fiefs constituting their dowry to be subject to feudal services nevertheless.

26.—Assignments of fiefs revocable as between sons, even after official confirmation of first assignment.

27—Vacant fiefs: successors to be selected with care.

28.—Interested and malicious slanders to be punished by loss of fief or employment.

29.—Provision against champerty and maintenance; also against judicial negligence.

30.—There must henceforth be no more tampering with judicature.

31.—Dissatisfied suitors maligning magistrates to be punished.

32.—Against harbouring outlaws in fiefs and manors.

33.—Of robbery, larceny and arson.

34.—Of adultery.

35.—Disregard of judicial process.

36.—Of altering ancient landmarks and bringing baseless claims into court.

37.—Kwanto vassals forbidden to aspire after appointments from the Imperial Gourt.

38.—Land Reeves not to encroach upon the Headmen of villages contiguous to but not included in their districts.

39.—Rank and office to be obtained from the Court only through recommendation of the Kwanto Authorities; some special Court offices excepted.

40.—Ecclesiastical preferment of Kwanto clergy not to be sought direct from the Court; only through the Kamakura government.

41.—Slaves and unclassed persons acquired by ten years possession.

42.—Farmers granted right of migration upon payment of all taxes.

43.—Land-grabbing and irregular enfeoffments forbidden.

44.—Unseemly scrambling for fiefs forbidden.

45.—No punishment without previous investigation.

46.—Perquisites of retiring and of incoming Governors of provinces when taking over office.

47.—Commendation forbidden.

48.—Buying and selling of fiefs forbidden.

49.—Summary adjudication allowed in clear and simple cases.

50.—Of outsiders interfering in brawls.
51.—Abuse of legal process forbidden.

Oath.

Signatures.

A rough analysis shows that the Code begins with religion and ends with legal procedure; the other matters dealt with being the political arrangements necessary for adjusting the new government *de facto* in the Kwanto to the old government *de jure* at the capital; the grants, confirmations, successions and distribution of the fiefs; and last but by no means least, the crimes and offences which the members of the newly evolved warrior caste were most prone to commit. No attempt is made to legislate for the common folk. They were left, in the fiefs, at the disposal of the feudal lords; and outside of these, to the normal jurisdiction of the Provincial Governors, or of the Court Nobles, in whose multitudinous Manors they were virtually serfs.

The political sections, nine in number, regulate the duties of the Protectors and Land-Reeves and their relations with the old established provincial authorities. These arrangements display a strong desire to respect all existing interests and to conserve as much as possible of the old constitution; innovating only where it was absolutely necessary to do so in the public interest. Next come the enactments respecting the tenure, succession and assignment of fiefs, thirteen in number: and the most numerous of all are the provisions for the punishment of offences, amounting to sixteen. But the various subjects are not dealt with in any strict logical order, and there is no pretence of systematic sequence in the arrangement of the sections. Indeed the sections were not even numbered, either when the Code was in use as a statute in the Hojo times or as a school-book in the Tokugawa times. Only in the recent compilation, the *Nihon Kodai Hoten* have the sections been numbered for the first time.

Even a cursory reading of the Code discloses the fact that this feudal law was superimposed on the existing customary law; and was not intended to supersede the latter. As a fact, however, the feudal law grew at the expense of the Imperial law and ultimately superseded it. Another point worthy of remark in the Code is the high position of women. They were allowed to hold fiefs; and the wife could hold separately from the husband. The comparatively high position of women at the opening, as compared with the close of the Tokugawa period has already been noticed by Professor Chamberlain. In the Hojo times it was higher still.

The Code is written in Chinese, not Japanese, and the style is clumsy and unpolished. It was intended only for the use of the High Court at Kamakura (the *Monjusho*) and the *Bugyo* or feudal Magistrates who exercised jurisdiction over the vassals of the suzerain *Shogun* in the remoter provinces; hence the circumstance that it was written in a learned script, which very few of the warriors of that time understood. It was not till the Tokugawa times that it came to be printed. From at least as early as the middle of the eighteenth century it was used as an elementary manual of the Chinese ideographs, which were printed large, in the *sosho* or abbreviated script, as models for copying. The text I have used is one edited by Takai Ransan, with an exegetical commentary, published in 1827, though the critically collated text given in the *Nihon Kodai Hoten* has also been consulted.

INSTITUTES OF JUDICATURE.

1.—The Shrines of the gods must be kept in repair; and their worship performed with the greatest attention.

The majesty of the gods is augmented by the veneration of men, and the fortunes of men are fulfilled by the virtue of the gods. Therefore the established sacrifices to them must not be allowed to deteriorate; and there must be no remissness in paying ceremonial honours to them as if they were present.[1] Accordingly throughout the provinces of the Kwanto Dominion[2] and likewise in the Manors,[3] the Land-Reeves,[4] the *Kammushi* (Shinto) priests and others concerned must each bear this in mind, and carefully carry out this duty. Moreover, in the case of shrines which have been enfeoffed[5] (endowed with benefices) the deed of grant must be confirmed each genera-

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(1) There is a reference here to the Confucian Discourses, Bk. III c. 7. "He (Confucius) sacrificed (to his ancestors) as if they were present . . . He sacrificed to the gods as if the gods were present."

(2) *Kwantō go bun no kuni-guni*, i.e. the provinces constituting the share or dominion of the Minamoto House in the region East of the Hakone Barrier. These were the eight provinces of Sagami, Musashi, Kodzuke, Shimotsuke, Hitachi, Shimosa, Kazusa and Awa. Sometimes the word Kwanto is used to designate these eight provinces only; but its more general use is to denote all the country East of Hakone barrier.

(3) *Shō yen*; literally farm-steads and gardens. These were estates of good arable land, with serfs attached, granted by the Emperors to their favourites in full ownership, free from all imposts and exempt from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Authorities.

(4) *Ji-tō*; literally, 'Land-heads.' These were revenue and commissariat officers first appointed throughout the provinces and districts by Yoritomo in 1186 to collect the newly imposed military tax.

(5) *Yū-hō no yashiro* (有封の社)

tion, and minor repairs executed from time to time as prescribed therein. If serious damage should happen to a shrine a full report of the circumstances is to be made, and such directions will be given (from Kamakura) as the exigencies of the case may require.

2.—(Buddhist) Temples and pagodas must be kept in repair and the Buddhist services diligently celebrated.

Although (Buddhist) temples are different from (Shinto) shrines, both are alike as regards worship and veneration. Therefore the merit of maintaining them both in good order and the duty of keeping up the established services, as provided in the foregoing article is the same in both cases. Let no one bring trouble on himself through negligence herein.

In case the incumbent does what he pleases with the income of the temple benefice or covetously misappropriates it, or if the duties of the clergy be not diligently fulfilled by him, the offender shall be promptly dismissed, and another incumbent appointed.

3.—Of the duties devolving on Protectors in the Provinces.

In the time of the august Right General's[1] House it was settled that those duties should be the calling out and despatching of the Grand Guard for service at the capital, the suppression of conspiracies and rebellion and the punishment of murder and violence (which included night attacks on houses, robbery, dacoity and piracy). Of late years, however, Official Substitutes (*Daikwan*) have been taken on and distributed over the counties and townships and these have been imposing public burdens (corvée) on the villages. Not being Governors of the provinces[2] they yet hinder the (Agricultural) work of the province: not being Land-Reeves they are yet greedy of

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(1) *U-Dai-sho*; General of the Right, the Military rank by which Yoritomo was generally designated. The higher offices, military as well as civil, were duplicate. Right and Left, the Left being the superior of the two.

(2) *Koku-shi Kunitsukasa*: The highest representative of the imperial authority in each of the 66 *kuni* or provinces.

the profits of the land. Such proceedings and schemes are utterly unprincipled.

Be it noted that no person, even if his family were for generations vassals of the August House (of the Minamoto) is competent to impress[1] for military service unless he has an investiture[2] of the present date.

On the other hand again, it is reported that inferior managers and village officials in various places make use of the name of vassals of the August House as a pretext for opposing the orders of the Governor of the provinces or of the lord of the Manor.[3] Such persons, even if they are desirous of being taken into the service of the Protectors, must not under any circumstances be included in the enrolment for service in the Guards. In short, conformably to the precedents of the time of the August General's House, the Protectors must cease altogether from giving directions in matters outside of the hurrying-up of the Grand Guards and the suppression of plots, rebellion, murder and violence.

In the event of a Protector disobeying this article and intermeddling in other affairs than those herein named, if a complaint is instituted against him by the Governor of the the Province or the lord of a Manor, or if the Land-Reeve or the folk aggrieved petition for redress, his downright lawlessness being thus brought to light, he shall be divested of his office and a person of gentle character appointed in his stead. Again, as regards Delegates (*Daikwan*)[4] not more than one is to be appointed by a Protector.

4.—Of Protectors omitting to report cases of crime and confiscating the successions to fiefs, on account of offences.

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(1) *Kari-moyoosu;* to hunt up. or call together as for a hunting party.

(2) *Shotai;* What one is begirt or equipped with, what one carries, or possesses.

(3) *Ryō-ko;* These were the owners of the *Shō-yen*, mostly Court Nobles (*Kuge*): They were exempt from taxation, central or provincial, and from military duty or imposts.

(4) These must not be confounded with the *Daikwan* of the Tokugawa time, who were far inferior in rank and importance.

When persons are found committing serious offences, the Protectors should make a detailed report of the case (to Kamakura) and follow such directions as may be given them in relation thereto ; yet there are some who, without ascertaining the truth or falsehood of an accusation, or investigating whether the offence committed was serious or trifling, arbitrarily pronounce the escheat of the criminal's heriditaments, and selfishly cause them to be confiscated. Such unjust judgments are a nefarious artifice for the indulgence of license. Let a report be promptly made to us of the circumstances of each case and our decision upon the matter be respectfully asked for, any further persistence in transgressions of this kind will be dealt with criminally.

In the next place, with regard to a culprit's rice-fields and other fields, his dwelling-house, his wife and children, his utensils and other articles of property. In serious cases, the offenders are to be taken in charge by the Protector's office ; but it is not necessary to take in charge their farms, houses, wives, children and miscellaneous gear along with them.

Furthermore, even if the criminal should in his statement implicate others as being accomplices or accessories, such are not to be included in the scope of the Protector's judgment, unless they are found in possession of the booty (or other substantial evidence of guilt be forthcoming).

5.—Of Land-Reeves in the provinces detaining a part of the assessed amounts of the rice-tax.[1]

If a plaint is instituted by the lord of the Manor alleging that a Land-Reeve is withholding the land-tax payable to him, a statement of account will be at once taken, and the plaintiff shall receive a certificate of the balance that may be found to be due to him. If the Land-Reeve be adjudged to be in default, and has no valid plea to urge in justification, he will be required to make compensation in full. If the amount is small,

(1) *Nen-gu ;* The annual land-tax paid in rice (or equivalent produce) out of which the expenses of the Central Government at Kyoto and of the respective provincial governments were defrayed.

judgment will be given for immediate payment. If the amount be greater than he is able to pay at once, he will be allowed three years within which to completely discharge his liability. Any Land-Reeve who, after such delay granted, shall make further delays and difficulties, contrary to the intention of this article, shall be deprived of his post.

6.—Governors of provinces and Manorial Houses may exercise their normal jurisdiction without referring to the Kwanto (authorities).

In cases where jurisdiction has heretofore been exercised by the Governor's Yamens,(1) by lords of Manors,(2) by Shinto Shrines or by Buddhist Temples on the footing of lords of Manors, it will not be necessary for us now to introduce interference. Even if they wish to refer a matter to us for advice, they are not permitted to do so.

In the next place, as regards the bringing of suits before us direct, without producing a letter of recommendation from the local tribunal.

The proper procedure in bringing a suit is for the parties to come provided with letters of recommendation from their own tribunal, whether it be that of a Provincial Governor, a manor, a shrine, or a temple. Hence persons who come unprovided with such letters have already committed a breach of propriety and henceforth their suits will not be received in judicature.

7.—Whether the fiefs which have been granted since the time of Yoritomo by the sucessive *Shogun's*(3) and by Her

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(1) *Koku-ga:* The head office of each province, corresponding somewhat to the yamen of a Chinese province g6vernor.

(2) *Kyō ke:* The Noble Houses mentioned in article 2. They thus enjoyed twofold privilege, being independent of the local civil authority viz. the Governor of the Province; and exempt from interference on the part of the new feudal-military official the *Shugo* or Protector of the Province.

(3) The three *Shōguns* of the Minamoto line were Yoritomo (1192 1199), and his two sons Yori-iye (1199-1203) and Sanetomo (1204-1219). Yori-iye was deposed and soon after assassinated by his grandfather Hojo Tokimasa, the first *Shikken* or Power-holder. Sanetomo was assassinated by his nephew, son of Yori-iye, instigated by Hojo Yoshitoki, the second *Shikken*, Tokimasa's son. Both Tokimasa and Yoshitoki, however, had to share the power with Yoritomo's

Ladyship the Dowager (Masako) are to be revoked or exchanged in consequence of suits being brought by the original owners.

Such fiefs having been granted as rewards for distinguished merit in the field, or for valuable services in official employment, have not been acquired without just title. And if judgment were to be given in favour of some one who alleged that such was originally the fief of his ancestors, though the one face might beam with joy, the many comrades could assuredly feel no sense of security. A stop must be put to persons bringing such unsettling suits.

In case, however, one of the grantees of the present epoch should commit a crime, and the original owner, watching his opportunity should thereupon bring a suit for recovery of possession, he cannot well be prohibited from doing so.(1)

In the next place, as regards attempts that may be made to disturb tenures by occasion of the *Shogun's* judicature having through failure of heirs come to an end.

Whereas some persons who, in consequence of not having right on their side, were formerly non-suited are found scheming, after allowing an interval of years to elapse, to bring suit a second time, the mere framing of such an intention is an offence of no light criminality. Henceforward should any persons, disregarding the adjudications of the *Shogun* and his successors, wantonly institute suits of disturbance, in every such case the grounds of the invalidity of the claim are to be endorsed at full length upon the title-deeds in his posession.

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widow, Masako, daughter of Tokimasa. After the death of her second son Sanetomo, she procured the appointment of *Shōgun* for her infant grandson by a daughter, wife of a Fujiwara noble, she herself at the same time being nominated guardian of this infant commander-in-chief at all periods of crisis during the stormy 25 years after her husband's death she had the controlling voice, aided by the advice of her trusty counsellor Oye Hiromoto, president of the council of government (*Hyōjō-shū*). Each crisis involved the extermination of one or more of the greater vassal's families and the confiscation and re-distribution of their fiefs.

(1) On the ground, probably, that the feofee's title by merit which availed against the previous owner having now been extinguished by guilt, the latter's right revives.

8.—Of fiefs which, though deeds of investiture are held, have not been had in possession through a series of years.

With respect to the above, if more than twenty years have elapsed since the present holder was in possession his title is not to be enquired into and no change can be made: following herein the precedent of the time of the Yoritomo house.[1] And if any one falsely alleging himself to be in possession, obtains by deceit a deed of grant, even though he may have the document in his possession it is not to be recognized as having validity.

9.—Of plotters of treason.

The purport of the provision relating to such persons cannot well be settled beforehand. In some cases, precedent is to be followed; in others, such action should be taken as the particular circumstances may require.

10.—Of the crimes of killing, maiming and wounding: furthermore, whether parents and children are to be held mutually responsible for each other's guilt.

A person who is guilty of killing or maiming, unless he acted without premeditation, as, in a chance altercation or in the intoxication of a festive party, shall be punished in his own person by death or else by banishment or by confiscation of his investiture; but his father, or his son, unless they have actually been accomplices, shall not be held responsible.

Next, the offence of cutting or wounding must be dealt with in the same way, the culprit alone being responsible.

Next, in case a son or a grandson slays the enemy of his father or grand-father, the father or grand-father, even if they were not privy to the offence, are nevertheless to be punished for it. The reason is that the gratification of the father's or grand-father's rage was the motive prompting to the sudden execution of a cherished purpose.

Next, in case a man's son, without his knowledge, is

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(1) The office of *Shōgun* had, on the failure of Yoritomo's heirs, been bestowed on a Fujiwara noble.

guilty of killing or maiming another, or attempting to do so, for the purpose of appropriating that other's post or seizing his property or valuables, if the fact of the father's non-connivance is clearly proven by the evidence, he is not to be held responsible.

11.—Whether in consequence of a husband's crime the estate of the wife is to be confiscated or not.

In cases of serious crime, treason, murder and maiming, also dacoity,[1] piracy, night-attacks, robbery and the like, the guilt of the husband extends to the wife also.[2] In cases of murder and maiming, cutting and wounding, arising out of a sudden dispute, however, she is not to be held responsible.

12.—Of abusive language.

Quarrels and murders have their origin in abusive and insulting language. In grave cases the offender shall be sent into banishment, in minor cases, ordered into confinement. If during the course of a judicial hearing one of the parties gives vent to abuse or insults, the matter in dispute shall be decided in favour of the other party. If the other party however has not right on his side, some other fief of the offender shall be confiscated. If he has no fief, he shall be punished by being sent into banishment.

13.—Of the offence of striking (or beating) a person.

In such cases the person who receives the beating is sure to want to kill or maim the other in order to wipe out the insult; so the offence of beating a person is by no means a trivial one. Accordingly, if the offender be a *Samurai*, his fief shall be confiscated; if he has no fief he shall be sent into banishment: persons of lower rank, servants, pages and under, shall be placed in confinement.

14.—When a crime or offence is committed by Deputies, whether the principals are responsible.

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(1) *San-zoku*, mountain bandits, as opposed to *Kai-zoku*, sea bandits. Both denote concerted action of numbers, as opposed to robbery by individual violence, *gitō*.

(2) Because these crimes, involving premeditation, repetition or a long course of wrong-doing, the wife must have been cognisant of them.

When a Deputy[1] is guilty of murder or any lesser one of the serious crimes, if his principal arrests and sends him on for trial, the master shall not be held responsible. But if the master in order to shield the Deputy reports that the latter is not to blame, and the truth is afterwards found out, incriminating him, the former cannot escape responsibility and accordingly his fief shall be confiscated. In such cases the Deputy shall be imprisoned (in order to be tried and dealt with).

Again, if a Deputy[2] either detains the rice-tax payable to the lord of the Manor or contravenes the laws and precedents even though the action is that of the Deputy alone, his principal[3] shall nevertheless be responsible.

Moreover, whenever, either in consequence of a suit instituted by the lord of a Manor, or in connection with matters of fact alleged in a plaintiff's petition, a Deputy receives a summons from the Kwanto or is sent for from Rokuhara, and instead of making up his mind to come at once, shilly-shallies and delays, his principal's investiture shall in like manner be revoked. Extenuating circumstances may, however, be taken into consideration.

15.—Of the crime of forgery.

If a *Samurai* commits the above, his fief shall be confiscated; if he has no investiture he shall be sent into exile. If one of the lower class commits it, he shall be branded in the face by burning. The amanuensis shall receive the same punishment.

Next, in suits if it is persistently alleged that the title-deed in the defendant's possession is a forgery and when the document is opened and inspected, if it is found to be indeed a forgery then the punishment shall be as above provided; but if it be found to be without flaw, then a fine proportionate to his

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(1) The *Daikwan* appointed by a Protector of a Province is here intended.

(2) Here the *Daikwan* meant is one appointed by a *Jitō*, or Land-Reeve to collect the military impost.

(3) *Shu-nin*, Master or Superior; the Protector in the one case, the Land-Reeve in the other.

position shall be inflicted on the false accuser, to be paid into the fund for the repairing of Shrines and temples. If he have not means wherewith to pay the fine he shall be deported.

16.—Of the lands which were confiscated at the time of the military disturbance of Shokyu (1219-1221).

In the case of some whose tenements were confiscated in consequence of their having been reported to us as having taken part against us in the battle at the Capital, it is now averred that, they were innocent of such misdoing. Where the proof in support of this plea is full and clear, other lands will be assigned to the present grantees of the confiscated estates, which will be restored to the original holders. By the term present grantees is meant those of them who have performed meritorious services.

In the next place, amongst those who took part against us in the battle at the Capital were some who had received the bounty of the Kwanto (i. e. had received grants of land from the *Shogun*). Their guilt was specially aggravated. Accordingly they were themselves put to death and their holdings were confiscated definitively. Of late years, however, it has come to our knowledge that some fellows of that class have, through force of circumstances, had the luck to escape punishment. Seeing that the time for severity has now gone by, in their case the utmost generosity will be exercised, and a slice only of their estates, amounting to one fifth, is to be confiscated. However, as regards Sub-Controllers and village officials, unless they were vassals of the *Shogun's* own House, it is to be understood that it is not now practicable to call them to account, even if it should come to be found out that they were guilty of siding with the Capital. The case of these men was discussed in the Council last year and settled in this sense; consequently no different principle is applicable.

Next as regards lands confiscated on the same occasion in respect of which suits may be brought by persons claiming to be owners. It was in consequence of the guilt of the then

holders that those lands were confiscated, and were definitively assigned to those who rendered meritorious service. Although those who then held them were unworthy holders, there are many persons we hear who now petition that in accordance with the principle of heredity the lands may be allowed to revert to them by grant. But all the tenures that were confiscated at that time stand irreversibly disposed of. Is it possible for us to put aside the present holders and undertake to make enquiry into claims of a past age? Henceforth a stop must be put to disorderly expectations.

17.—As regards the guilt of those who took part in the battle on the same occasion, a distinction is to be made between fathers and sons.

As regards cases in which although the father took the side of the Capital the son nevertheless took service with the Kwanto and likewise those in which although the son took the side of the Capital the father took service with the Kwanto, the question of reward or punishment has been decided already by the difference of treatment. Why should one generation be confounded with the other as regards guilt?

As regards cases of this kind occuring amongst residents[1] in the Western provinces, if one went to the Capital, whether he were the father or the son, then the son or the father who remained at home in the province cannot be held blameless. Although he may not have accompanied his guilty kinsman he was his accomplice at heart. Nevertheless in cases where owing to their being separated by long distances or boundaries it was impossible for them to have had communication with one another or to be cognizant of the circumstances, they are not to be regarded as reciprocally involved in each other's guilt.

18.—Whether, after transferring a fief to a daughter, parents may or may not revoke the transfer on account of a subsequent estrangement.

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(1) Military gentry (*Bushi*) living in the Kwansai, or provinces West of Hakone Barrier. In the Kwanto they would have been feudal barons.

A set of doctrinaires aver that though the two sexes are distinct as regards denomination, there is no difference between them as regards parental benefactions and that therefore a gift to a daughter is as irrevocable as one to a son. If, however, the deed of assignment to a daughter were held to be irrevocable she would be able to rely upon it, and would have no scruples about entering upon an undutiful and reprehensible course of conduct. And fathers and mothers, on the other hand, forecasting the probability of conflicts of opinion arising, must beware of assigning a fief to a daughter. Once a beginning is made of severing the relation of parent and child the foundation is laid for disobedience and insubordination. In case a daughter shows any unsteadiness of behaviour, the parents ought to be able to exercise their own discretion accordingly. When the question is understood to rest on this foundation the daughter, induced by the hope of the deed of assignment being confirmed, will be on her best behaviour and punctillious in the discharge of her filial duty; and the parents, impelled by the desire of completing their fostering care, will find the course of their affection uniform and even throughout.

Note. The commentator, Takai Ranzan remarks:—

"At this period it was allowed to divide a fief granted by the lord and assign a portion of it to a daughter upon application to the Authorities. Hence there were "female tenures." And it was not without reason that these were asserted to be irrevocable. So far as the parents minds were concerned, the sons and the daughters were alike their children. The sons, by meritorious services, were able to obtain large emoluments. The daughters had no such opportunities; for they were during their whole lifetime dependent upon others and were liable also to be divorced. During the lifetime of the parents that would not so much matter; but they looked ahead and foresaw that when the succession devolved to the brothers the sisters' position would be in many ways embarrassing: hence the practice of dower was the outcome of deep affection; and that

the brother, after succeeding (to the headship of the house) should be debarred from interfering with a tenure apportioned to the daughter by his parent was no more than was necessary to give effect to the parents' affection.

In after generations, farmers and merchants granted fields and urban building-sites as portions to their daughters; but the military families (*buke*) did not apportion tenures (*chigyo*) to their daughters. Since a daughter's duty was implicit obedience (*jun-jo*) before everything else, if she had the wealth of a tenure of her own her filialty towards her father-in-law and mother-in-law would have been impaired, even the husband would have been contemned, and the path of implicit obedience would have been lost. Hence it was by keeping her without income that her life-long submission was secured. As times and manners change together, government has to be adapted to the customs prevailing at the time.

19.—Of kinsmen, whether near or distant, who having been reared and supported, afterwards turn their backs on the descendants of their original masters.

Of persons who were dependent on a kinsman for their upbringing some were treated on a footing of affectionate intimacy as if they were sons; and where that was not so (owing to their belonging to a lower rank in life) they were maintained as if they were vassals. When persons so circumstanced rendered some loyal service to their masters, the latter, in their abounding appreciation of the spirit so displayed have in some cases handed them an allocation-note and in other cases have granted them a deed of enfeoffment. Yet they pretend that those grants were merely free-will gifts and take a view of things opposite to that taken by the sons or grandsons of their first master, with the result that the tenor of the relations to each other becomes very different from what it ought to be. For a time they act coquettishly, and those who were on the footing of sonship keep it up whilst the others observe the etiquette proper to vassalship; and then after a period of shilly-

shallying some of them avail themselves of (literally, borrow) the badge of somebody who is not related to them, whilst the others go the length of taking up the opposite way of thinking. When such persons forge all at once the predecessors benefaction and act in opposition to his son or grandson the fiefs which were so assigned to them are to be taken from them and given back to the descendant of the original holder.

20.—Of the succession to a fief when the child, after getting the deed of assignment, predeceases the parents.

Even when the child is alive, what is to hinder the parents from revoking the assignment? How much more, then, are they free to dispose of the fief after the child has died; the thing must be left entirely to the discretion of the father or grandfather.

21.—Whether when a wife or concubine, after getting an assignment from the husband, has been divorced, she can retain the tenure of the fief or not.

If the wife in question has been repudiated in consequence of having committed some serious transgression, even if she holds a written promise of the by-gone days she may not hold the fief of her former husband. On the other hand, if the wife in question had a virtuous record and was innocent of any fault and was discarded by reason of the husband's preference for novelty, the fief which had been assigned to her cannot be revoked.

22.—Of parents who when making a disposition of their fief pass over a grown-up son whose relationship has not been severed.

When parents have brought up their son to man's estate and he has shown himself to be diligent and deserving then, either in consequence of a stepmother's slanders or out of favouritism to the son of a concubine although the son's relationship has not been severed, suddenly to leave him out and without rhyme or reason make no grant to him, would be the very extreme of arbitrariness. Accordingly; for the wife's son

who has now arrived at manhood one fifth of the fief must be cut off and assigned as his share to any older brother who is without sufficient means. However this grant should be made to depend upon proofs given, no matter whether the recipient be the son of the wife or the son of a concubine, and however small the amount of the share may be. Even if he be the son of the wife but has no service to show he does not come within the scope of the rule; neither, on the other hand, do persons who have been unfilial (even though they have rendered service).

23.—Of the adoption of heirs by women.[1]

Although the spirit of the (ancient) laws does not allow of adoption by females, yet since the time of the General of the Right (Yoritomo) down to the present day it has been the invariable rule to allow women who had no children of their own to adopt an heir and transmit the fief to him. And not only that, but all over the country, in the capital as well as in the rural districts there are abundant evidences of the existence of the same practice. It is needless to enumerate the cases. Besides, after full consideration and discussion, its validity has been recognized, and it is hereby confirmed.

24.—Whether a widow who has succeeded to her husband's fief and who marries again should continue to hold it.

Widows who have succeeded to the fief of their deceased husband should give up everything else and devote themselves to their husbands' welfare in the after-world and those who disregard that observance cannot be held blameless. Hence if any such, soon forgetting their conjugal constancy marry again, the fief held by their late husband is to be granted to the husband's son. If the deceased husband had no son, the fief should be disposed of in some other way.[2]

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(1) In antiquity women (i. e. widows) were not allowed to adopt children as heirs to the fief. It was Yoritomo who first allowed the privilege of transmitting the inheritance through females to adopted children.

(2) Such as, for instance, by specially instituting an heir, or granting the fief to a temple or monastery.

25.—Of vassals in the Kwanto who married their daughters to Court nobles and assigned fiefs to them, thereby diminishing the sufficiency of the public services.

As regards such fiefs, although they were assigned to daughters and thus became alienated, nevertheless the assessment for public services must be imposed thereon in accordance with the holders' rank and standing. Even although when the father was alive the son-in-law's fief may have been, as a matter of favour, exempted, after his death, service must be insisted on. If, presuming on the dignity of his position, the holder of such a fief omits to perform personal service, the said fief must be for long withheld from him. In general, there must be no obstinacy as regards public services, which are equally required of all in the Kwanto even to the Ladies-in-waiting in the Palace.(1) After this, if any one still makes difficulties, he is not to have the tenure of the fief.(2)

26.—Of revoking an assignment to one son, after a Government patent of assurance(3) has been granted and then making the assignment to another son.

That matters of this kind are to be left to the discretion of the parents has been already practically laid down in a preceding section. Hence even when a Government writ of quiet possession of title has been granted to the heir first instituted, yet if the father changes his mind and decides to assign the fief to another son, it is the subsequent decision which is to take effect, and must be confirmed by an adjudication.

27.—Of fiefs the successions to which have not yet been dealt with.

These should be distributed when suitable occasions offer, due regard being had in each case to the extent of service rendered and after testing the abilities (of the several claimants).

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(1) The *Shogun's* palace at Kamakura.

(2) It was an established principle that Court Nobles (*Kuge*) were exempt from military service and from assessment or contributions towards it. Hence alienations of their estates by vassals tended to diminish the resources of the feudal governing power.

(3) *Ando no on kudashi-bumi.*

28.—Of trumping up false statements and instituting slanderous suits.

That those who with smooth faces and artful inuendoes prejudice their lord's mind in order to ruin others are guilty of a very heinous sin is stated in the Scriptures.(1) For the sake of the world and for the sake of individuals, they must be rebuked.

If a slanderous accusation is made in the expectation of getting a fief, the fief of the slanderer must be given to the person slandered. If the slanderer has no investiture he must be sent into banishment. If, on the other hand, the slander has been concocted in order to mar another's official career, the offender must be disqualified from ever being employed again.

29.—Of passing over the proper magistrate and having recourse to different persons in order to trump up a law suit.

In such cases, when the proper magistrate is disregarded and a suit is concocted by one who has changed his allegiance and attached himself to a different patron, occasion is afforded for a clashing of judgments even when nothing of the kind is intended. Therefore in such cases the plaintiff must be debarred for a time from bringing his action. As regards his patron there must be a Government injunction issued (restraining him from maintaining the suit).

If when a suit is brought before him, a magistrate is neglectful and allows twenty days to pass without his taking any action in the matter, the parties may make an application to the Courthouse. (at the *Shogun's* Palace).

30.—Of a party to a pending suit who, instead of awaiting the judgment, sends in a letter from a person high in authority.

In such cases the successful party exults in winning the case by the strength of his powerful connection, whilst the losing side grieves over the influence wielded by those high in office and position. Hence one vaunts his obligation to his

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(1) *Mon-jaku.* i. e. The Confucian scriptures or Chinese classics, not the Buddhist scriptures or *Sutras.*

powerful patronage, whilst the other distrusts the judgments of the established legal tribunals. It is mainly in this way that the course of government administration is polluted. Therefore this practice must henceforth be peremptorily put an end to. Suitors must either have recourse to the magistrate or the case must be referred direct to the Court-House.(1).

31.—Of persons who, not having justice on their side and therefore failing in their suits, accuse the Magistrate of partiality.

When a person, who not being in the right fails to get leave to institute a suit, then trumps up a charge of partiality against the Magistrate, such conduct is extremely reckless and reprehensible. Henceforth if any such person, after making false allegations, trumps up a groundless accusation of that kind, he shall be punished by the confiscation of one-third of his fief. If the offender has no investiture he is to be expelled from the locality. If, again, the Magistrate has been guilty of some mistake in the matter, he is to be disqualified from ever again holding office.(2)

32.—Of harbouring brigands and bands of evil-doers within a fief.

It is rumoured that there are cases of such persons being harboured; but inasmuch as they have not actually been discovered it is impossible to punish the culprits, and no open rebuke has been administered to those suspected of harbouring them. However, when the people of the county point out the places of hiding, if the brigands are arrested then that county passes as being quiet: If they continue at large, then that county is deemed to be infested, etc., etc.(3)

In like manner if the malefactors have located themselves on the borderland between two counties, it must be put to the proof which of the two they are in, and the suppressive mea-

(1) *Tei-chu*, the Court-yard of the Council of Government at Kamakura.
(2) The accuser being punished none the less.
(3) There is a lacuna in the text here. The lost portion doubtless contained directions as to the procedure to be followed in making the arrests, etc.

sures taken accordingly. Again, if Land-Reeves are found allowing gangs of brigands to find refuge in their districts, they will be held to be equally guilty. First of all, when the information received gives ground for suspicion, the Land-Reeve will be summoned to Kamakura and detained; and is not to be granted leave of absence so long as that country remains in a disturbed state. Again, as regards those localities into which a Protector's Delegate[1] is prohibited from entering, whenever, in like manner, such gangs of evil-minded persons are found to have located themselves therein, they must be arrested without delay and handed over to the Protector's office. In case any sympathy is shown to the culprits, the Protector's Delegate will be authorised to enter into the domain, and the Land-Reeve's Deputy[2] must likewise be changed. If the Deputy is not changed the post of the Land-Reeve will be extinguished and the Protector's Delegate will receive authority to enter,

33.—Of robbing and theft; also of incendiaries. For the two kinds of stealing[3] the punishment (death) is already established by precedents. Can there be hesitation or reconsideration on that point? Next as regards the man who sets on fire (a house, etc.) he is to be regarded in the same light as a brigand and it is right that he should be outlawed.

34.—Of illicit intercourse with another person's wife.

Whoever embraces another person's wife is to be deprived of half of his fief, and to be inhibited from rendering service any more, regardless of whether it was a case of rape or adultery. If he have no investiture he must be sent into banishment. A woman who commits adultery shall in like manner be deprived of her fief, and if she have none she must also be sent into banishment.

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(1) *Shu-go shi*: the *Shōen* or Manors of the Court Nobles are here meant: In ordinary times not even the Provincial Governors could interfere in their affairs, much less the upstart Protectors of the *Shogun's* administration.

(2) *Daikwan*.

(3) These were *gōtō*, robbing with violence, and *settō*, thieving covertly.

35.—Of persons not coming up (to Kamakura) after being repeatedly summoned in a suit.

When a plaint has been instituted and the defendant has been thrice served with a summons to appear and plead, if he does not come and abide judgment, the plaintiff, if he has right on his side, shall forthwith obtain judgment in his favour; if he has not right on his side the property in dispute shall be awarded to some third party (who may have the next best claim to it).

When the subject-matter of the suit is dependent persons, horses, cattle or miscellaneous things,[1] they shall be restored, after investigation, to such third party according to the inventory or description furnished by him. Otherwise they shall be appropriated for the repair of the temples and shrines.

36.—Of altering ancient land-marks and so engendering disputes.

There are persons who transgressing the ancient boundaries of their fiefs, trump up some new pretext of rival claim and others who disregarding the precedents of late years established, bring forward some old document and found a claim on it; and inasmuch as they suffer no particular loss even when they are unsuccessful in their claims, such nefarious fellows lightly concoct and institute law-suit to the no small infliction of unnecessary trouble on the judiciary.

For the future, when suits of this kind are brought, a surveyor must be sent to the locality in question to investigate accurately the boundaries and proofs; and if the claim of the plaintiff is found to be baseless, the extent of the land which he wrongfully sought to obtain by his suit shall be carefully measured, and a portion of like extent shall be subtracted from his fief and added to that of the defendant.

37.—Of vassals of the Kwanto applying to Kyoto for side offices[2] and for the superintendentships of estates.

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(1) But not land: the omission is significant.
(2) The appointment of Deputy (*Daikwan*) is here meant.

This practice was strictly forbidden in the time of the Minamoto House. Of late years however, some persons, following the bent of their own ambitions, have not only disregarded the prohibition, but have entered into competition with others seeking to obtain the same appointment. Henceforth anyone found indulging in such ill-regulated ambition shall be punished by the escheating of the whole of his fief.

38.—Of Land-Reeves hindering the functions of the village Headmen within the limits of their charge.

When one who has been placed in general charge of a district as Land-Reeve endeavours under the protext of their being within the district under his charge, to encreach upon villages which are distinct and separate there-from, he cannot escape blame. In such case, an Instruction will be issued to him stating that, even in the case of so low a post as that of village Headman, if the Land-Reeve of the whole district taking advantage of the weakness or illness of the village Headman, and transgressing the limits of his Instructions, forms unlawful designs against him and places unjustifiable hindrances in the way of his doing his work, an Instruction will be issued to the village Headman empowering him to pay the taxes to the Government direct (*i.e.* passing over the Land-Reeve altogether).

On the other hand, if a village Headman plays fast and loose and disregards established precedents in disobedience to the Land-Reeve, his post of Headman will be taken away.

39.—That those desirous of obtaining office or rank must have a written recommendation from the Kwanto.

That those who have performed a meritorious service and are desirous of being raised in rank therefore should be recommended (by us to the Emperor) is an established and impartial mode of proceeding; and there is consequently no need to prescribe regulations about it.

As to applications for recommendations by persons who

merely desire their own advancement they are strictly prohibited altogether, whether from high or low.

However, those who have been invested (by the Emperor) with the office of *Kebiishi* (Metropolitan Police Magistrate) do not require a letter of recommendation (from Kamakura). If they be so fortunate as to receive the Imperial permission they may be appointed to Office or Rank direct.

Again those who are newly promoted to higher rank, and who after the lapse of the due length of years still enjoy (literally, bathe in) favour at the Court are not included in the above restriction.

40.—Of Buddhist clergy within the Kamakura Domain striving at their own option to obtain ecclesiastical positions and rank.

Inasmuch as it leads to the deranging of the due subordination in the hierarchy, the practice of applying at will (to Kyoto) for preferment is in itself a source of confusion and furthermore entails undue multiplication of the higher ecclesiastical dignities: for clerics of mature age and ripe intelligence are overpassed by younger men of slight ability; whereby the formers' labour and expenses in following their calling are made of no avail and the principles of religion are at the same time contravened.

Henceforth if any one should in future apply for preferment without first having received our permission he shall, if he be the incumbent of a temple or shrine, be deprived of his benefice. Even if he belong to the clergy specially attached to the chaplaincies of the *Shogun* he shall nevertheless be dismissed.

Should, however, one of the Zen Sect make such an application, an influential member of the same sect will be directed to administer a gentle admonition.

41.—Of Slaves and unclassed persons.

(In cases of dispute respecting the ownership of such persons) the precedent established by the late *Shogun's* House

must be adhered to ; that is to say, if more than ten years have elapsed without the former owner having asserted his claim, there shall be no discussion as to the merits of the case and the possession of the present owner is not to be interfered with.

42.—Of inflicting loss and ruin on absconding farmers under the pretext of smashing runaways.

When people living in the provinces run away and escape, the lord of the fief and others,[1] proclaiming that runaways must be smashed up, detain their wives and children, and confiscate their property. Such a mode of procedure is quite the reverse of benevolent government. Henceforth such must be referred (to Kamakura) for adjudication, and if it is found that the farmer is in arrear as regards payment of his land-tax and levies, he shall be compelled to make good the deficiency. If he is found not to be so in arrear, the property siezed from him shall be forthwith restored to him. And it shall be entirely at the option of the farmer himself whether he shall continue to live in the fief or go elsewhere.[2]

43 —Of persons falsely pretending that another's fief is within their tenure, and greedily appropriating the produce thereof.

To covertly get possession of a fief under false pretext of title must, as those Regulations come into operation, be deemed an offence. Therefore the produce which has been wrongfully appropriated in that way must be promptly accounted for and restored. If the aggressor be the holder of a fief it shall be escheated. If he has no fief he must be sent into banishment.

Again, as regards the practice of obtaining a deed of feoffment in respect of a fief which the applicant is actually holding, without there being any special ground for making such application, it is open to the suspicion that some sinister motive underlies it. Henceforth the practice must be stopped.

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(1) *i.e.* the *Jito*, or *Jito Daikwan*, etc.

(2) This liberal enactment was disregarded by the Tokugawa ; who severely punished any attempt on the part of the farmers to leave their holdings.

44.—Of eager rivalries when a companion has incurred guilt and others covet his investiture before his case has been decided.

That those who have piled up meritorious services should make plans for realizing their hopes is an ordinary matter of course. But that, when a rumour is started of an offence having been committed, and before the degree of guilt has been ascertained, the hope of getting the fief in question should engender the desire to condemn the man is not what can be deemed a righteous mode of proceeding. And when after due investigation, a decision has been given, slanders as from the mouths of tigers follow one another without end like bees in a swarm. Even if it be only a case of claiming a redress of fortune, rival hopes that have been cherished for days together shall not have effect given to them.(1)

45.—When a report is made of some offence having been committed, of relieving a man of his post without investigating the matter.

If adjudicative action is taken in such cases without the matter being fully enquired into, the result is to leave a feeling of grievance and resentment, whether the offence were committed or not. Consequently there must be prompt and thorough investigation in such cases before deciding one way or the other.

46.—Of the respective limits of judicature of the incoming and outgoing Governor of a province on the occasion of an exchange of fiefs.

In such cases the new Governor shall have adjudication as regards the annual rice-tax revenue, as regards his own serfs and miscellaneous gear and also the horses and cattle of his train, the new Governor need not detain them; much more, then if any slight be offered to the previous Governor shall it be doomed a specially reprehensible remissness.

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(1) N-K-H. adds:—Cases in which the place has been made vacant do not come within the rule.

Things, however, which were confiscated (by the previous Governor) on account of serious offences are not included within the scope of this provision (*i.e.* the outgoing Governor may not take them with him).

47.—Of making a present to another person of documents of a fief not in one's possession: Furthermore; of village headmen making presents to influential Houses without the cognizance of the lord.

Henceforth those who make such presents shall be sent away bodily; those who receive them shall be fined for the benefit of the Shrines and temples repair fund.

In the next place, as regards headman who without the cognizance of the lord of the manor make presents of the emoluments of their posts. Of course this practice goes on. Such a fellow shall be deprived of his emolument as headman, which shall be added to the Land-Reeve's share. In places where there is no Land-Reeve it shall be added to the lord's share.

48.—Of buying and selling fiefs.

That those who have inherited a private estate from their ancestors may under stress of necessity dispose of it by sale is a settled law. But as for those persons who either in consequence of accumulated merit or on account of their personal exertions have been made the recipients of special favours from the Government—for them to buy and sell such at their own pleasure is a proceeding that is by no means blameless. Hence, forth it certainly must be stopped.(1) If, nevertheless, any persons, in disregard of the prohibition dispose of a fief by sale-

(1) At this period the selling of hereditary possessions above referred to was that on the part of the farming folk, who had mortgaged their field and the selling of fiefs in the same manner is here forbidden. In after ages the practice of selling fiefs was utterly unknown. It was an altogether different matter, however, if one of the farmer folk committed an offence and his share of the land was taken away from him by the Land-Reeve, or if the Land-Reeve bought from the farmer folk their agricultural fields, wet or dry or their forest lands, paying them a money price for them. That was quite allowable. But the selling and buying of fiefs which had been granted by one's lord was not allowed at all. The two cases were widely different.

both the sellers and the buyers shall be equally dealt with as guilty.

49.—Of holding a formal trial in a suit when it is quite clear on the face of the documents that one of the parties has no case.

When the documents sent in by both sides disclose with perfect clearness the right or wrong of a claim, adjudication may be given at once without confronting the parties at a formal hearing.

56.—Of persons who, when a disorderly incident occurs, proceed to the scene of the affray without knowing the particulars.

As regards those who, in such cases, rush in to land their help as partizans, it is needless to make nice distinctions. As regards the gravity of their offence it is impossible to lay down a rule beforehand. The circumstances of each case must be taken into consideration. As regards those who, desirous of ascertaining the facts, and not being privy to the cause proceed to the scene of an affray it is not necessary to regard them as culpable.

51.—Of disorderly behaviour by persons holding a writ of summons or a Decree in a suit.

That when a plaint[1] is instituted a writ of enquiry (*i e.* a Summons to the other party) should be issued is the established practice. But if the writ is made use of as a ground for disorderly behaviour, such malicious truculence must be held to involve culpability. If the contents of plaints show quite clearly that the claims are unreasonable or pettifogging, the granting of writs of Enquiry will be altogether stopped.

SOLEMN OATH.

That questions of right or wrong shall be decided at meetings of the Council[2] (in accordance with these institutes).

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(1) *Sojo* (plaint) is the same as *meyasu* (*i. e.* eye case). *Monjo* (writ of Enquiry) is the *sashigami* (*i. e.* issue paper) of the present (Tokugawa) days.

(2) *Hyōjōshu;* the Cabinet or Supreme Council of the Shogunate at Kamakura.

Whereas a simple individual is liable to make mistakes through defect of judgment, even when the mind is unbiassed; and besides that, is led, out of prejudice or partiality, whilst intending to do right, to pronounce a wrong judgment; or again, in cases where there is no clue, considers that proof exists; or being cognizant of the facts and unwilling that another's shortcomings should be exposed, refrains from pronouncing a judgment one way or the other; so that intention and fact are in disaccord and catastrophies afterwards ensue.

Therefore: in general, at meetings of Council, whenever questions of right or wrong are concerned there shall be no regard for ties of relationship, there shall be no giving-in to likes or dislikes, but in whatever direction reason pushes and as the inmost thought of the mind leads, without regard for companions or fear of powerful Houses, we shall speak out. Matters of adjudication shall be clearly decided and whilst not conflicting with justice the sentence shall be a statute of the whole Council in session. If a mistake is made in the matter, it shall be the error of the whole Council acting as one. Even when a decision given in a case is perfectly just it shall be a constitution of the whole Council in session. If a mistake is made and action taken without good grounds, it shall be the error of the whole council acting as one. Henceforward therefore as towards litigants and their supporters we shall never say" Although I personally took the right view of the matter some or such a one amongst my colleagues of the Council dissented and so caused confusion, etc." Should utterence be given to any such reports the solidarity of the Council would be gone, and we should incur the derision of men in after times.

Furthermore, again when suitors having no colour of right on their side fail to obtain a trial of their claim from the Court of the Council and then make an appeal to one of its members, if a writ of endorsement is granted by him it is tantamount to saying that all the rest of the members are

wrong. Like as if we were one man shall we maintain judgment. Such are the reasons for these articles. If even in a single instance we swerve from them either to bend or to break them may the gods Ben-Ten, Taishaku, the four great Kings of the Sky, and all the gods great and little, celestial and terrestrial of the sixty odd provinces of Nippon, and especially the two Gongen of Idzu and Hakone, Mishima, Daimyojin, Hachiman Daibosatsu and Temman Dai Jizai Tenjin punish us and all our tribe, connexions and belongings with the punishments of the gods and the punishments of the Buddhas; so may it be.

Accordingly we swear a solemn oath as as above. Teiyei, 1st year 7th month, 10th day.

(Signed by)

SAITO HYO-YEI NIU-DO SHAMI JO-YEN.

SATO SAGAMI NO DAIJO FUJIWARA NARITOKI.

OTA GEMBA NO JO MIYOSHI YASUTSURA.

GOTO SAYEMON NO SHOI FUJIWARA NO ASON MOTOTSUNA.

NIKAIDO MIMBU TAI-YU SHAMI GYONEN.

YANO GEKI TAI-YU SANI MIYOSHI ASON TOMOSHIGE.

——— KAGA NO KAMI MIYOSHI ASON YASUNAGA.

NIKAIDO OKI NIUDO SHAMI GYO-SEI.

CHIUJO SAKI NO DEWA NO KAMI FUJIWARA NO ASON IYENAGA.

MIURA SAKI NO SURUGA NO KAMI TAIRA ASON YOSHIMURA.

HOJO SETTSU NO KAMI NAKAHARA ASON MOROKAZU.

HOJO MUSASHI NO KAMI TAIRA ASON YASUTOKI,

HOJO SAGAMI NO KAMI TAIRA ASON TOKIFUSA.

NOTES ON KAMO CHŌMEI'S LIFE AND WORK

By Karel Jan Hora.

In Vol. XX. Part II. of the Transactions (1893) there are two articles "Chōmei and Wordsworth—A literary parallel" and "Description of my Hut" both by Mr. J. M. Dixon, dealing with Kamo Chōmei and his "Hōjōki"—and these few lines are intended to add something to the information given by these articles.

Chōmei's Life.

Concerning the time of Chōmei's birth nothing is known with certainty, even the *Dai Nihon Jinmei Jisho*, (大日本人名辭書) is silent upon this point. But weighing carefully the references made by Chōmei in his Hōjōki, especially that alluding to the time of his removal from Kioto, it may be inferred that his birth occured within the period Kiyūan (1145-1151). His father Kamo no Nagatsugu as well as his grandfather occupied the position of *negi*[1] in the Kamojinsha in Kioto.—Chōmei whose name at that time was Kikudayū, had even in his childhood been a good player of the *biwa* and the flute and accompanied his father's songs with these instruments. In the first year of the period Ōhō (1161) he was appointed by the emperor Nijō Tennō, lower officer of the fifteenth rank.

Chōmei was a good student of poetry; his teachers were Minamoto no Toshiyori and the priest Eshun. Under their

(1) Shintō official superintending national shrines.

care he soon began to compose poems called "Waka" which made him so popular that the emperor Gotoba Tennō selected him for the registrar's position (*Yoriudo*), in the Waka office (*Waka-Dokoro*), an institution founded by the emperor Murakami Tennō in the fifth year of the period Tenryaku (951) and conducted for the purpose of collecting and registering popular poems of that day. To that position he was probably appointed in reward for this poem written for the emperor:

Yo mo sugara, hitori mi yama no, maki no ha ni,
Kumoru mo sumeru, ari ake no tsuki.

which freely rendered means: Through the whole night alone. On the distant mountain's leaf of *maki* appears a picture of the clouded moon. With a pure heart even this moon looks clear.

Shortly after Chōmei entered this position his father died and Chōmei asked the emperor for the appointment to the position of *negi* which was now vacant. But his youth and the influence of certain court officials were against him and the emperor though wishing to show favor to this talented youth was unable to satisfy his ambition. Depressed by this disappointment, Chōmei resigned from the Waka-Office and became a monk under the name Renin. He moved to the mountains North of Kioto where he built himself a hut at the foot of mount Ohara, and, after living there for almost thirty years, he left this dwelling and went to Soshū no Kamakura in Segami no Kuni to call upon his friend the *Shōgun* Minamoto no Sanetomo, a great admirer of his poetry. There he stayed a few years composing *waka* poems for his friend. Then he gave up the world entirely and built his tiny hut on Hino no Sotoyama where he lived until his death which occurred in the sixth month of the fourth year of Kenpō (1216).

Chōmei lived there a life of perfect seclusion and poverty, possessing nothing but his two beloved musical instruments and a few manuscripts; living only on such food as the forest afforded. The emperor Gotoba no Tennō wished him to return to his former office and sent a messenger into the mountains to

plead with him. Chōmei now an aged man of sixty could no more part with the solitude of the forests which he loved—he refused the offer of the emperor with the following poem :

Sumiwabinu, geni ya mi yama no, maki no ha ni,
kumoru to iishi, tsuki wo miru beki.

Meaning :—Live satisfied : On the distant mountain's leaf of *maki* appears the former clouded moon. Let me remain and gaze at her.

About the Origin of the name Kamo.

There is a strange story added to the editor's introduction of the Hōjōki which I possess telling of the origin of the name Kamo. In the following lines I give the substance of its contents.

In olden times there lived a young girl in the village of Izumoji. One day while washing her clothes in the river, she observed an old arrow decorated with feathers of the wild duck (*Kamo*) floating on the waves. She caught it and after returning home hid it under a beam of the house-roof. A few weeks later she gave birth to a boy. Her parents in vain sought to know the name of the child's father. Weepingly she assured them that it had none, but the parents believed not, thinking that for shame she would not tell them.

When the boy was three years of age they invited all the men from the village to a party ; *Sake* was offered to all. They also gave a cup to the boy asking him to place it in front of his father. The boy took the cup and went from one to the other but passed all and to the general astonishment lifted the cup and placed it in front of a beam under which there stuck the old arrow. In the same moment the boy and his mother rose toward the sky.....

Since that time the family in which the strange boy was born was called by the name " Kamo."

Chōmei's Work.

Chōmei seems to have had a better reputation as poet than as writer. It is said that during his life a certain Fujiwara Shunzei was collecting poems of all the prominent men for a work called *Senzai Wakashū*.

One of Chōmei's poems was selected for this collection, to the great joy of the author. Later a work named *Shinkokin Waka-shū* was published containing, among songs of other poets, twelve of Chōmei's which were recognized as the best. Beside these, Chōmei wrote the following books :—

Keigyoku Shū (瑩玉集) The Jewell Collection.
Mumei Shō (無名抄) The Nameless Selection.
Hoshin Shū (發心集) The Heart Reform Collection.
Monji Sō (文字鎖) The Spear of Ideograms.
Shiki Monogatari (四季物語) The Four Seasons' Story.
Hōjōki (方丈記) Hermit's Hut Diary.

Of all these books I have obtained copies only of *Hoshin Shū*, *Shiki Monogatari* and *Hōjōki*. I posses two copies of *Hōjōki* both illustrated with primitive woodcuts and dating back to the third year of Keichiyo (1598). One of them has, strange to say, the title *Kamakura Ki* (鎌倉記) on the cover —though the contents is identical with that of *Hōjōki*. Some time ago I found another book written by Chōmei : the *Kaidō Ki* (海道記), describing a trip on foot along the old Tokaidō. It is perhaps Chōmei's trip to the residence of Minamoto no Sanetomo—— but, whether this book is a partial copy of one of the books named above with its title changed or whether it is another book which escaped the eye of the compilers of the *Dai Nihon Jimmei Jisho*, I have been unable to ascertain.

THE STUDY OF COREAN FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A STUDENT OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE.

By Arthur Hyde Lay.

In response to an invitation recently extended to me by the Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Japan to furnish a paper on some subject connected with Corea, I have put together a few notes jotted down in the course of my own study of Corean. They may perhaps be of some slight service to other students of Japanese proposing to devote their attention to the language of the country which is now related more closely than ever before to its neighbour Japan.

To one who has resided in Japan and made a study of Japanese the Corean language presents features of particular interest. Spoken by peoples separated from each other only by a narrow sheet of water, both languages show marked signs of agglutination and may be said to belong, together with Mongol and Manchu, to the northern division of the Turanian family.* In grammatical structure Japanese and Corean resemble each other in an extraordinary degree. They are more or less identical in syntax, the rule governing the order of words in a sentence being that qualifying words and expressions precede those which they qualify. Verbs come at the end.

It is thus possible practically to translate literally, word for word, from one language to the other. I have before me

* *Note*:—There are, however, many similarities between Corean and languages of the southern division of the Turanian family. See "A Comparative "Grammar of the Korean Language and The Dravidian Dialects of Southern "India" by H. B. Hulbert, M.A., F.R.G.S.

a Japanese-Corean Conversation book from which the following phrases will serve to illustrate this point :—

JAPANESE.....Konnichi wa ikka desu ka ?
COREAN .....Onal-eun myĕt-chil ionikka ?
ENGLISH .....To-day (as for) what day of the month is it ?
JAPANESE.....Fune ga jissō haitte kimashita.
COREAN .....Pá yŭl ch'ŭk teurŭ oasso.
ENGLISH .....Boats ten vessels have come in.
JAPANESE.....Yagu wo kite yoku o yasumi nasaremase.
COREAN .....Yi-beul tŭp-ko chal chumeusio.
ENGLISH .....Bedclothes putting on well sleep please.

No language, then, is of so much practical value to the student of Corean as Japanese, and he who with a knowledge of the colloquial, and more particularly of the written part, of the latter language, approaches the former is exceptionally well equipped for the task. That the converse is also true is demonstrated by the readiness with which the Coreans pick up the speech of their Eastern neighbours.

But the immense advantages to be gathered from the similarities indicated can be readily understood by the Westerner whose mind, in its younger days accustomed only to grapple with the minor intricacies of inflectional tongues, has undergone the great strain necessary to acquiring a knowledge of a Far Eastern language with its radical differences of grammar and idiom.

Dr. Imbrie's "English-Japanese Etymology" is in the hands of every Western student of Japanese and the plan of study laid down there has been adopted by Dr. Underwood in his "Introduction to the Corean Spoken Language." Here we have an additional help from the one to the other.

Let us take the grammar and glance at some of the resemblances which strike us. The parts of speech in Japanese and Corean may roughly be said to consist of nouns and verbs, the pronouns and numerals being considered as nouns, the true adjectives and adverbs as verbs, and the particles as fragmentary corruptions of nouns or verbs.

THE NOUN.

Nouns are indeclinable and gender and number are not as a rule distinguished. When it is desired to make a distinction, different words, or particles in the form of prefixes, denote the sex, and postpositions are employed to signify plurality.

EXAMPLES.

GENDER.

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Otoko.	Sanaheui.	A man.
Onna.	Kye-jip.	„ woman.
On dori.	*Su* talk.	„ cock.
Men dori.	*Am* talk.	„ hen.

NUMBER.

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Kodomo.	Ahă.	A child.
Kodomo *ra*.	Ahă *teul*.	Children.

Plurality, universality and variety are expressed frequently by the reduplication of words :—

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Kuni.	Nara.	A country.
Tokoro.	Kot.	„ place.
Kuniguni.	Naranara.	Various countries.
Tokorodokoro.	Kot-kot.	„ places.

Then, for instance in *chi-gyŭng* (territory), we have in Corean something like the substitution for a surd of a sonant which takes place in the second word of a Japanese compound. Euphonic changes are, however, much more marked in Corean as a rule than in Japanese. The third personal pronoun is lacking in both languages and its place is supplied by words meaning "that man," "that," etc.

Relative pronouns do not exist, but phrases such as follow are used instead :—

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Sakujitsu kita hito.	Ŭje on saram.	The man who came yesterday. (Literally) Yesterday came man.

With regard to the numerals, those of Chinese as well as of native origin are in use. In Japanese the latter are ordinarily limited to the first ten, in Corean they go up to ninety-nine. It is rather curious that no connection can be found between the respective native numerals, with so many other points of resemblance. Auxiliary numerals for the purpose of classifying animate and inanimate objects are common, such as:—

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Inu ni hiki.	Kă tu mari.	Two dogs.
Kiaku ni mei.	Son-yim yi myung.	Two guests.
Fude ippon.	P'ussi han charu.	One pen.

Postpositions are simple and compound. Of the former *ga* is a sign of the nominative in each case. Then we have *ye* in Japanese and *ei* in Corean signifying "at" or "into" and *ka* the interrogative.

On consulting a grammar treating of either language it is evident at a glance that the verb is considered as calling for the most lengthy and minute explanation, This is of course the most complex part, its distinguishing feature being the formation of moods and tenses by agglutination. The subject is such a complicated one that in a general paper like the present it will suffice to say that a number of modifying particles are caused to cohere either directly or through the stem, or bases composed of the stem and one or two letters, to a root which continues always separable. Verbs are entirely impersonal, but honorifics are in constant use to denote varying degrees of respect or humility. No difference is made between singular and plural and a passive construction is not usually found. Other common characteristics are the occurrence of causative verbs and the employment of an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," on the one hand of the Corean *hiao* (ᄒᆞ ᄋᆞ), and on the other of the Japanese *suru* (ス ル), for the purpose of changing nouns of Chinese origin into verbs.

The comparison of adjectives furnishes another instance of identity of method. Instead of having a comparative and

superlative form, stress is laid upon the positive by the addition of a word such as "more," "number one," or an idiom such as the following is made use of:—

JAPANESE.....Kono uma yori ano uma ga ii.
COREAN .....I mal poda keu mari ch'oso.
ENGLISH .....This horse than that horse is good (That horse is better than this one).

The *kana* or native syllabary of Japan is represented in Corea by a genuine alphabet of 25 letters, 14 consonants and 11 vowels, called *Ern-mun* (諺文), which is simple and can easily be committed to memory in a short time. But at first the similarity between some of the letters and of the *katakana*, accounted for by the fact that the idea was in the latter case probably borrowed from the Peninsula, is confusing. It requires some practice in reading to obviate this initial difficulty. For example, among the Corean vowels we find (ㅏ) *a* which must be distinguished from (ㅓ) *to*. Then, with the consonants, one is tempted to read

Corean	ㄱ	k	as the	*katakana*	フ fu.
„	ㅁ	m	„	„	ロ ro.
„	ㄴ	n	„	„	レ re.
„	ㅅ	j	„	„	ス su.
„	ㅋ	k (aspirated)	„		ヲ wo.

There is no fixed rule for spelling in the common Corean script and each person using it does so phonetically, according as the sounds suggest themselves to his own ear. The result is that hardly any two methods of spelling coincide entirely. The "upper *a*," (ㅏ), the "lower *a*" (ㅇ), the *o* (ㅓ) and the *eu* (ㅡ), are often confounded. Take the word "heaven," (天), for instance. The Corean sound is in a work before me put down as "*hanul*" while it is ordinarily given as "*hanal*" (the final *a* being "lower *a*" (ㅇ) instead of (ㅡ) *eu*).

It is, however, the existence in Japan and in Corea of words of Chinese derivation which serves, as it were, as a stepping-stone from one language to the other. From the Peninsula

came the civilization of the day to the neighbouring islands, and the use of the Chinese characters is believed to have been introduced, through a Corean channel, towards the close of the third century of the Christian era. In Japan the pronunciation given to the Chinese Characters is of two kinds, the *Kan On* (漢音), which found its way from Northern China along the Peninsula, and the *Go On* (吳音), introduced from the Southern Empire of China. We may, therefore, reasonably expect to find many similarities between the sounds attached to the ideographs in the two adjacent countries. Corean Chinese is said to resemble the ancient language of China and in this respect is very like the Cantonese dialect. In Japan, as well as in Corea, we find that words of Chinese origin have been to a very large extent substituted for native words or borrowed to make up for deficiencies. But this is more noticeable even in the case of Corea where the attempt seems to have been made to neglect the vernacular on all possible occasions. For example, the Coreans employ the words *yak* (약, 藥), *mok* (먹, 墨), *chon* (천, 賤) *han* (흔), *kwangye* (관계, 關係) *ch'anso* (찬소), etc., where *kusuri*, *sumi*, *iyashii*, *kamaimasen*, etc., would be used in Japanese.

He who has a good vocabulary of Japanese compound words, *juku-ji*, (熟字), will find it of immense utility in learning the Corean words of Chinese origin. This is more especially true in view of the influence which Japan has exercised over Corea during the past decade and which has resulted in the employment of compounds of Corean Chinese words based on the Japanese model. The reorganization of the Corean administration in 1895 was the work of Japanese advisers and, naturally, expressions designating official positions, titles, offices, and the like, were largely taken from those with which they were acquainted in their own country. His Majesty (上殿), *Sang-chon*, became (陛下) *Pye-ha*, Japanese *Hei-ka*. His Royal Highness, (邸下), *Chŭ-ha* became (殿下) *Chŏn-ha*, Japanese *Den-ka*. The official grades were altered to (勅任) *Chŭk-im*,

(奏任), *Chu-im*, (判任), *P'an-im*, Japanese *Choku-nin*, *Sō-nin*, *Han-nin*. So with the Cabinet, *Naikak* (*Naikaku*), and the Ministers of State, *Kung mu-Ta-sin*, *Koku-mu-dai-jin* (國務大臣); and the same throughout. Hence the "Corean Official Gazette," *Kwanbo* (官報), Japanese *Kwan pō*, is very easy reading in the light of an acquaintance with Japanese. The new terms recently introduced by the Japanese when taking Corea under their tutelage are bringing in fresh expressions to the language, *e.g. Tong-gam-bu*, *Tō kwam-bu* (統監部), Residency-General, *Yi-sa-gwan*, *Ri-ji-kwan* (理事館), Residency.

But to consider the Corean-Chinese words as used by the Coreans in unofficial publications issued by natives for their own people, let us take the "*Che-guk Sin-mun*, *Teikoku Shimbun*, (帝國新聞), a daily newspaper published in Seoul, in the native script, with Chinese headings to the various subdivisions and items of news. The leading articles are called *Non-sŭl* (*Ronsetsu*) and the miscellaneous articles *Chappo* (*Zappo*). From the copy I have before me I extract a note regarding the Japanese population of Chemulpo, giving side by side the Japanese translation.

In-ch'ŭn (*Jin Sen*) *hang* (*kō*, 港, *minato*) *ei* (*ni*) *innan* (*iru*) *ilbon in* (*Nippon jin*) *cui* (*no*) *ho gu* (*ko*, *kō* 戶, 口), *neun* (*wa*) *ho su ga* (*ko sū ga*) *i ch'ŭn p'al-bŏk ku sip yuk* (*ni sen hap piaku ku ju roku*), *In gu neun* (*jin kō wa*) *il man i ch'ŭn p'al bŏk ku sip o myŭng* (*ichi man ni sen hap piaku ku ju go mei*) *ira hani* (*to iu koto da kara*) *hă* (*gai*, 該) *hang* (*kō*) *ei* (*ni*) **kŭ-săng* (居生) *hanan* (*suru*) *uri* (*waga*) *nara* (*kuni*) *inmin eui* (*jim-min no*) *ho gu su hyo* (*ko kō sū kō*, 戶, 口, 數, 爻) *poda* (*yori*) *man-heun moyang iradŭra* (*ōi yō de gozaimasu*).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

As regards the number of Japanese houses and the Japa-

---

* A different word such as *Kiojū* would be used in Japanese.

nese population of the port of * Chemulpo, there are said to be two thousand eight hundred and ninety-six houses and a population of twelve thousand eight hundred and ninety-five persons, so that in houses and population the Japanese appear to outnumber the Coreans there.

From the illustration furnished above we deduce some interesting facts.

In in Corean is here *Jin* or *nin* in Japanese as also in 人, 刃, 認.

Ch'ŭn in Corean is here *sen* in Japanese as also in 千 and 泉.

Hang in Corean is *kō*. This illustrates two tendencies of which the one is the change from initial *h* in Corean to *k* in Japanese and the other the nasal *ng* ending becoming a diphthong or long vowel in Japanese. Examples might be multiplied, but we shall only quote a few: *Ha dung*, 下等, (an instance of both changes) (*ka-tō*), *Hyun in* (賢人) (*Ken jin*), *Han guk* (韓國) (Kan-koku). Again the nasal sound *ng* in *chung* (中), *yang* (樣), *yŭng* (英), *săng* (生), *myŭng* (名), *kong* (公), *ch'ang* (昌), becomes *chū*, *yō*, *yei*, *sei*, *kō*, *shō*.

We have seen that *non-sŭl* (論說) becomes *ron-setsu* (leading article). How little distinction the Coreans institute between the letters *l*, *r*, or *n*, can be gathered from their all being represented by the sign (已) *li-cul*. At the commencement of a word it is read *n*, as *nă-wŭl*, (來月) *Rai-getsu*, while before *i* and the compound vowels it is read *y* (as *yuk*, *roku* 六). 李 is a common surname in Corea and is pronounced, not *Li* nor *Ri*, but *Yi*.

While on the subject of letter changes we may mention that initial *p* often becomes *h* or *f* in Japanese, as in *pujok* (不足) *fusoku*, *P'yung-Yang* (平壤) *Heijō*, *Pusan* (釜山) *Fusan*. Final *p* which is no longer to be met with in many Chinese

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* Chemulpo is written 濟物浦 (Zai motsu ho), but the name by which the port is generally known is that of the neighbouring town of Inch ŭn, 仁川.

dialects has been retained in Corean, as in Cantonese, but in Japanese it becomes a long vowel :—

Ip	(入)	niū.	Pŭp	(法)	hō.
T'ap	(塔)	tō.	Ŭp	(業)	Giō.

In other ways we see the fondness that Corean has for final consonants. *Sŭl* (說) becomes *Setsu* in Japanese, as also in (設) and (雪). The same change from *ŭl* to *etsu* is noticeable in (決), (闕), (血).

Yak	(藥)	becomes	Yaku	in Japanese
Tŭk	(德)	,,	Toku	,, ,,
Mok	(木)	,,	Moku	,, ,,
Sil	(實)	,,	Jitsu	,, ,,
Mil	(蜜)	,,	Mitsu	,, ,,
Ch'al	(察)	,,	Satsu	,, ,,
Pok	(福)	,,	Fuku	,, ,,
Puk	(北)	,,	Hoku	,, ,,

Final *m* tends to become *n* in Japanese :—

Eum, In	(陰)	Kim, Kin	(金)
Sam, San	(三)	Nam, Nan	(男)

The initial *g* is often dropped in Corean, as in *ŭ* (語) *go*, *ok* (獄) *goku*, or becomes *w* or *eu* as in *wŭn* (原) *gen*, *eui* (議) *gi*.

I shall just quote a few from a long list of words which I have picked up from time to time in the course of reading to show resemblances between the two languages.

JAPANESE.	CORREAN.	ENGLISH.
Chō-sen.	Cho-sŭn.	Corea.
Kwan-kei.	Kwan-gye.	Concern.
Chi-riō.	Ch'i-ryo.	Medical treatment.
Kei kwaku.	Kye-hoek.	Scheme.
Ki-koku.	Kwi-guk.	Return home.
Jō-yaku kaisei.	Cho-yak kă-jŏng.	Treaty revision.
Tsū-shō.	Tong-sang.	Commerce.
Ji kioku.	Si-guk.	Situation.

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Gin-kwa.	Eun-wha.	Silver coin.
Ō-rai.	Wang-nä.	Going and Coming.
Sei-fu.	Chŭng-bu.	Government.
Ya-ban.	Ya-man.	Barbarous.
Kwampei-shiki.	Kwan-pyŭng-sik.	Review (of troops).
Sha-shin.	Sa-jin.	Photograph.
Chō-sa.	Cho-sa.	Examination.
Yei-go gakkō.	Yŭng-u hakkyo.	English Language School.
Ban-zai.	Man-se.	Long life.
Ji-mu-sho.	Sa-mu-so.	Place of business.

(*Sa* often becomes *ji* in Japanese and *so sho*).

There are of course many sounds which are almost identical in the two languages, as, for instance, *ai* (哀), *cho* (朝), *an* (安), *chi* (地), etc.

Remark has often been made on the singularity that so few resemblances have been found between the vernacular spoken in Corea and in Japan. But certain words in the one language do seem akin to some in the other, and no doubt a deeper search would reveal many more. I have written down a few Corean words, with their Japanese equivalents, which it has occurred to me may possibly have some connection with each other. They are given, however, merely as a suggestion.

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
*Mi (old Japanese).	Mul.	Water.
Koto.	Kŭt.	Thing.
Hoka.	Patkeui.	Excepting.
Izumi.	Säm.	A fountain.
*Tag (apu) (old Japanese).	Tarao.	To differ.
*Turu.	Chul.	A string.
*To.	Chŭ.	That.
*U (e).	Uheui.	Above.
*Na.	Nŭ.	Thou.
Ware.	Uri.	We.
*Puku.	Puo.	To blow.

* The old Japanese words are taken from Messrs. Chamberlain and Ueda's paper, "A Vocabulary of the most ancient words in the Japanese language," in Volume XVI of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAPANESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
Kuma.	Kom.	A bear
Kumo.	Kuram.	A cloud.
Kumo.	Kŭmeui.	A spider.
Kōri.	Ŭreum.	Ice.
Kayui.	Kariŭpta.	Itchy.
Natsu.	(n) Yŭreum.	Summer.
Obiru.	Ŭpta.	To carry.
Ka.	Ka.	Interrogative.
Ye.	Ei.	Into.

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXIV: PART II.

CONTENTS:

PRIMITIVE CULTURE IN JAPAN.

By N. Gordon Munro, MB. & C.M., Edin. Univ.

Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, L'D.

TOKYO: Z. P. MARUYA CO., L'D.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & CO., L'D.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

DECEMBER, 1906.

PRICE - - - - - - - - - Yen 5.00.

PRINTED AT THE FUKUIN PRINTING CO., NO. 38, YAMASHITA-CHO, YOKOHAMA, JAPAN.

PRIMITIVE CULTURE

IN

JAPAN

BY

N. GORDON MUNRO, MB. & C.M., Edin. Univ.

Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

1906.

PREFACE.

The foundations of Prehistoric Archæology in Japan, laid by a few European enthusiasts over a quarter of a century ago, now sustain a stately edifice of ascertained facts, raised with no less ardour and devoted research, by a host of Japanese investigators.

Now that the task of selecting and arranging is over, I am conscious that this has been but imperfectly performed. Insufficient attention has been paid to the *tama* or jewels of the primitive people; the similarity between some of these and the *magatama* of the Yamato deserved notice, even in a sketch like this. Other faults of omission, and perhaps of commission, will be apparent to trained archæologists and I shall thankfully receive any criticisms regarding these. Except where personal views have been communicated, I have endeavoured to quote all my authorities, Japanese and foreign.

Many of the photographs have been taken by myself, but I have to thank Mr. G. Brinkworth for kind and skilled help with some of them. Where the size is given, linear dimensions are intended. These are not invariably exact, though all are approximately correct.

All specimens not otherwise mentioned have been taken from my collection. Nos. 62 to 65, inclusive, were drawn by a Tokyo artist.

The outlines of the map (Appendix 1) have been taken from the Shin Sen Chizu (New Selected Atlas) by Mr. M. Yamagami, but I am responsible for the enumeration of sites and the incidence shown on the chart. The authorities of the Imperial University museum kindly gave permission to photograph pottery and my thanks are due to Dr. Takashima for the loan of specimens. Mr. Cyril Allen most courteously gave invaluable assistance in the correction of proofs.

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PRIMITIVE CULTURE IN JAPAN.

In presenting the following remarks to this Society, my purpose has been to submit a coherent sketch of the Japanese neolithic culture, rather than to strain my limited resources in the attempt to fill in a complete picture. Indeed the topographical minutiæ of this culture are far from having been mastered, so that precise information of one locality cannot yet be balanced, or even thoroughly understood, by comparison with that of others, Broadly speaking, the culture remains of the north of Japan are of a more advanced type than those of the south. Local differences also exist, pointing to tribal, or perhaps merely to technical, seclusion. These are not yet properly elucidated. and I shall not venture on a comparison. The pioneer work of Morse and Milne has, however, been vastly added to during the past quarter of a century. It is perhaps fitting that this should be collated for the purpose of a general survey. Thanks also to the work of Sir Ernest Satow, Professors Gowland and Tsuboi, Mr. Yagi Sosaburo and a host of Japanese investigators, the general culture of the primitive inhabitants may now be contrasted with that of the Yamato, before whom it gave way, and ultimately fell.

Prehistoric archæology has revealed the existence of two distinct cultures in Japan, together with traces of a third. One culture is represented at the present time by numerous relics imbedded in the soil, or in shell-heaps; the remains of the other are found in chambers and caves, specially built or excavated. There is little danger of confusing the two, though remains of the latter are sometimes disinterred simply from the ground. One is the primitive culture, attested by the existence of about four thousand ascertained sites of residence, or refuse heaps.

These are characterised by the total absence of metal, by the presence, usually in the same site, of polished, finely chipped and roughly hewn weapons and implements of stone, as well as of natural stones which have been applied to various uses. Pottery is nearly always found. It is usually, though not invariably, of coarse texture, is never of the hard consistence of stone-ware or porcelain, and is never turned on the wheel. It is commonly of an ornate and sometimes highly elaborate kind. Implements of bone or horn are often, and refuse of food, such as shells and bones are usually, found in, or near the sites. These relics are never associated with dolmen, or cave sepulture, as they sometimes are in Europe.

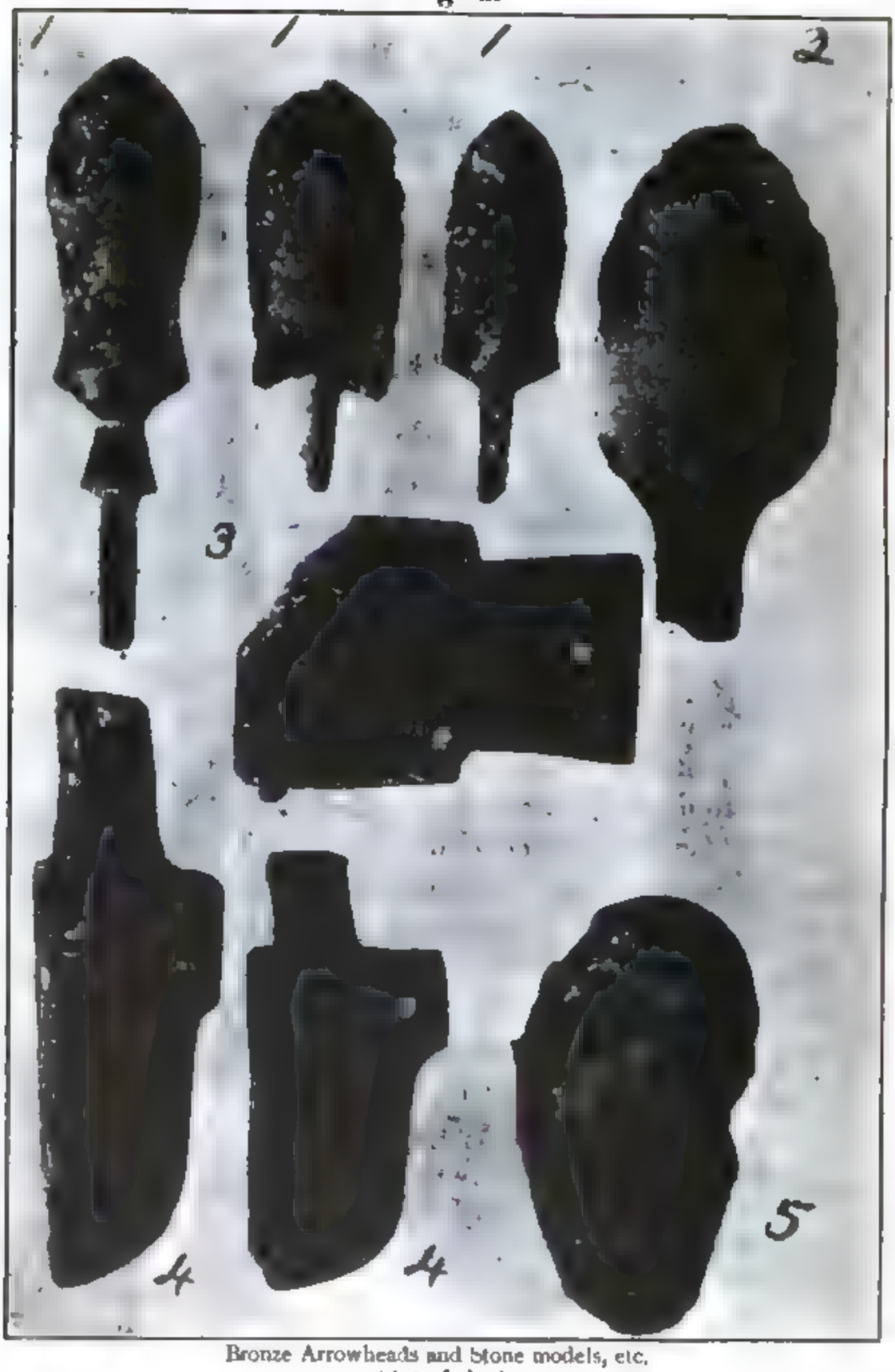
The word "primitive" has ceased to carry the idea of a positive beginning, though it still conveys the impression of limited distance from some origin. Like the expression "archaic," it is not infrequently used as a synonym for "ancient" or "crude." It has even been applied to such relatively advanced grades of culture as the bronze and early iron, (Halstatt culture). Modern culture sometimes presents survivals that are truly "primitive" and there are instances, as in Africa, where the expression is wholly appropriate to the culture of iron-using tribes at the present day. It is proper, however, to apply it to that grade of culture which is emphasised by the use of stone implements, the latter being the recognised hallmark of backward humanity. Though the use of prepared stone is probably less primitive than that of wood, it has served well as a classifier of progress, and usefully differentiates the "primitive culture of Japan" from that of the Yamato, which made its appearance perhaps less than three thousand years ago.

The vestiges of the Yamato culture are quite distinct from those of the stone phase. Weapons of stone are not found in the Yamato sites. Imitations in stone, however, of sheath knives or swords, usually of diminutive size, and occasionally stone copies of bronze arrowheads, occur in the tombs. (figs. 1

Fig. 1.

Model of Sword in stone, probably copied from that of bronze.
(Slightly less than $\frac{1}{3}$ size.)

Fig. 2.



Bronze Arrowheads and Stone models, etc.
(Actual size.)

and 2). Certain enigmatical implements of highly polished stone,* and small models of utensils also exist, with ornaments of various kinds, notably the claw or comma shaped *magatama*. Such findings do not necessarily imply a primitive culture, any more than the presence of a granite sundial, a soapstone box, an agate pen, or beads of jet or crystal, would proclaim such a stage, if disinterred in Europe. They would show, however, that the use of stone had overlapped that of metals, and there are reasons for the conviction that this was so to a notable degree in the case of the Yamato. Some arrowheads, jingle bells (*suzu*), mirrors and, in the later tombs, highly finished bowls of bronze, are found, while copper was largely employed to sustain gold and silver plating for mountings, etc. The salient feature of this culture, however, was iron. The long straight swords and the various horse trappings and other furniture, are well finished and rivetted. Some of the metal objects show a decided resemblance to those of the Halstatt period. The pottery is of great hardness, the vessels are almost always moulded on the wheel, the decoration is exceedingly simple and restrained. The pottery of the Yamato, obtained from the tombs, is probably of a type specially reserved for funeral or ceremonial use. The subdued colouring and decoration and the occasional presence of a different ware in the tombs, which is known to occur in other situations, suggest this conclusion.

The relics of the Yamato have been called protohistoric, but as dolmen building ended previous to the appearance of written history in Japan, and within four centuries of the introduction of writing, it is more accurate to speak of them as prehistoric. During the 6th and 7th centuries written material was prepared for the historical works of the 8th, but these two centuries represent but a small proportion of the time occupied by the dolmen period of Japan. The conservative nature of funeral custom, too, has placed the stamp of uniformity upon

* I am inclined to suppose that they are astronomical.

the contents of the tombs, so that there is little difference between the relics of the later and the earlier dolmens. It is evident that the expression "prehistoric" has only a relative, or local, value since the dawn of the written record, within the past 10,000 years.

There is some evidence that a limited bronze period intervened in the south, between the stone and the iron phases. Weapons of bronze are found in the south of Japan (Kyushu) and in some of the provinces lining the Inland Sea. Bronze bells have been recovered as far east as Yamato and its neighbourhood (Map). These are always disinterred from the soil and never from the Yamato tombs, nor from the sites of the Stone Age. It would appear, therefore, as if they belonged to a different culture from that of the Yamato. This question involves, however, the consideration as to the time available for a gradual change of culture in this country. The absence of bronze or iron objects from the middings is no evidence that the two cultures did not come into contact, as the refuse heaps would be the last place for the precious metals, even if the objects were broken. On the other hand, we may take it that the existence of stone models of weapons in the Yamato tombs, brings the Stone Age into focus. I may point out that the stone dagger or sword in fig, 1, was apparently modelled after the bronze weapon which I have placed alongside of it. The stone arrowhead (No. 2, fig. 2) is evidently copied from a metal model, probably an arrowhead of bronze such as No. 1, fig. 2. No. 3 of the same figure is a model of a metal hoe. The bivalve, infiltrated with oxide of iron, from the relics of a dolmen, shows that the Yamato people did not entirely despise such diet, though it is rarely found in their tombs. The broad-bladed sheath knife or sword is no longer to be found, even in the tombs, but the model (No. 4) is frequently encountered. This knife is in use in central Asia to this day. On showing a large bronze halberd in my collection to Mr. Woo, the Consul General for China, in Japan,

that gentleman informed me that identical weapons exhibiting the same decoration, have been found in Shangtung. Though the swords and halberds of bronze are not found in the Yamato sepulchres, arrowheads of this metal are not infrequently discovered. The same arrowheads have also been found with the swords of bronze. They have a distinct similarity of shape to the bronze halberds. The association of these with the stone models, and the persistence of the bronze arrowheads in the tombs, indicates that the latter continued in use after iron had replaced bronze for swords and spears. This association establishes a connection, not only between the stone and bronze phases, but between the latter and that of iron. It suggests, but of course it does not prove, that the same people were holding the south-east of Japan during a bronze and iron interval. It is quite certain, however, that the users of bronze in Japan must have preceded the iron-wielding Yamato, whether they were the same race or not. It is impossible that the owners of the bronze weapons could have gained a foothold in the interior of Japan after it was held by the Yamato. It is possible that these bronze people were allies of the Yamato, but scarcely to be credited. Nor is it probable that these bronze relics were the spoil of war from the continent, for, apart from the foregoing considerations, the discovery of moulds from which the weapons were cast, proves that they were either made or recast in Japan. Mr. Yagi tells me that he disinterred a bronze sword from the ground in Kyushu. It was contained in two jars with the mouths adjusted to form one large receptacle, a not uncommon way of disposing of the dead in other lands. The occasional Yamato burial in clay coffins is probably a survival of some such sepulture.

The question of the continuity of the Japanese and bronze cultures is not easy of solution, but that as to the identity of the peoples maintaining these cultures is a still more difficult problem. The fact that the burial of bronze arrowheads in the dolmens outlasted that of the bronze swords in mounds or

graves, may be taken, along with some evidence that the dolmen underwent evolution in Japan, to suggest a continuity of culture. On the other hand, as Tylor and others have pointed out, elevation of culture "is more apt to be produced by foreign than by native action. Civilisation is a plant much oftener propagated than developed."* The answer as to whether a self-contained evolution from bronze to iron took place in Japan cannot be settled at present. I venture to think that there was ample time for such a development, but adhere to the belief that there was some local advance, largely reinforced by "propagation" from the continent.

NEOLITHIC SITES.

A list, published by the Imperial University in 1900, records about three thousand five hundred sites, but more than four thousand are now known. This number cannot represent nearly all the primitive settlements which formerly existed. Apart from these sites, traces of neolithic culture abound in many parts of these islands. This is particularly the case in the Kwanto,† where they are strewn over the country side, so that a few hours walking, in almost any direction, will be rewarded by the discovery of potsherds, or implements of stone. These remains have been disinterred by agricultural operations, and bear witness that a widespread primitive population had been settled during a considerable period. They also suggest that an estimate based on the frequency of ascertained sites may be far from accurate in regard to districts which have been long under cultivation. From the great number of sites thus far discovered, the activity of Japanese archæologists may be inferred. The results have been fruitful, but it is to be hoped that funds will be forthcoming for a more systematic exploration. It is not enough to scratch the surface of these

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* "Primitive Culture" E.B. Tylor D.C.L., F.R.S. &c. Vol. 1, p. 53, 4th. ed.

† A group of 8 provinces viz. Sagami, Musashi Hitachi Awa (Boshu) Kazusa, Shimosa, Kotsuke and Shimotsuke.

interesting monuments. Exploration by deep section, such as I have lately attempted to carry out, ought to be undertaken in every province where these remains are found. One or two would be sufficient for each province, a precious record thus being obtained for future reference.

The sites are very much more numerous in the northern than in the southern half of Japan. Taking the published list of 1900 as a basis, and working out the number of sites to each hundred square *ri* of territory, I find that the average is 24 per hundred *ri* to the north of a line drawn through Ise and Omi provinces, while it is only 4 per hundred *ri* to the south of this line, including the great islands of Shikoku and Kyushu. In Yezo (Hokkaido) there are only 3 per hundred *ri*, so far as ascertained, but this island is still largely covered by forest and unreclaimed land. It is possible therefore that many sites here await discovery; on the other hand there are reasons for the belief that a large proportion of the native inhabitants had lost the higher neolithic culture of their ancestors before broadly settling throughout the island. The art of pottery-making had considerably degenerated and the habit of hunting had probably gained in importance. Yet shell heaps are found and are still in process of formation.

In Honshu, (main island), north of the provinces of Omi and Ise, there is still a good deal of unreclaimed land, so that further excavation may reveal the existence of fresh sites. To the south of the Ise-Omi line, the land has been occupied for a longer time and the population is greater. The proportion of sites may therefore be less liable to alteration.

The extent of mountainous, or at least unreclaimed land is a factor of some importance in estimating the probability of future finds. High land in the interior must have been less inviting to primitive man, than that bordering on the sea; it was presumably occupied mainly through stress of conflict, or competition. As a rule, to which there are one or two notable exceptions, such districts contain few remains.

In the accompanying map,* I have indicated approximately the number of primitive sites per hundred square *ri*† for each province of Japan. The alluvial plains, with plateaux and hillocks to the height of 300 feet, occupy the green areas. Heights up to 3,000 feet are in red; above this, in darker red. The gradations are not shown, nor are the lesser valleys, but the result is sufficiently correct for a rough survey, which is all that is possible at the present time. It gives us some idea of the relation of elevation to the number of sites, and by inference, as to the density of the primitive population in these various situations. By the map, we can see that the neolithic culture flourished in the neighbourhood of the sea. The alluvial plains, rather than the mountainous interior, were its favourite locations. Exceptions to this rule will presently be noted.

The sites are but rarely found quite at the present sea level. They are usually situated on slight elevations, from about 30 to 300 feet in height, though occasionally less and sometimes more. The favourite location appears to have been on a low plateau, or gently rising ground in the vicinity of an estuary or bay. They are frequently found on the summit, but sometimes extend down the sides. They are sometimes placed on the lower declivities facing the shore.

The sites vary greatly in depth. In the Kwanto they are said to have generally a depth of from one to eight feet in the shellheaps and three or four feet in the soil outside the heaps. The thickness of the shellheaps affords an unreliable criterion as to age. In one of my excavations the shells were fully 12 feet in depth.‡ These kitchen middings are so frequently formed of refuse thrown down a declivity that the depth varies greatly according to the position. It is only when sites are found on level plateaux that the depth gives any reliable

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* Appendix A.

† 100 sq. *ri* roughly=600 sq. miles.

‡ Near Kawasaki.

indication. In the course of my excavations at the hamlet of Mitsusawa, near Kanagawa, I have come upon coarse pottery imbedded a few inches in the red loam (not in a shellheap), at a depth of no less than eight feet from a *level surface*. This indicates a great antiquity, much more than has hitherto been suspected, but unfortunately no exact estimate can be made. In other less reliable situations the character and declivity of the upland will manifestly contribute to alterations of depth, while the climate, earth tremors, distribution of earthworms and other considerations, combine to furnish elements of doubt. Such observations have therefore merely a relative value. In some places, where the soil lies thinly on a rocky base, it is evident that the sites cannot vary much in depth. I understand that it is the general opinion of Japanese archæologists that the depth of the remains in the Hokkaido is less than in the middle and southern districts of the country. In the absence of systematic excavations, however, this point may be held in reserve.

The pottery in the south is more crude than that of the Kwanto and the latter is somewhat less refined than that of northern Honshu.* It would appear, therefore, to be older in the south. In the Hokkaido (Yezo) the pottery is very scanty and often coarse, but the occasional presence of wooden and iron utensils points to a degeneration of the art rather than to a beginning in the north.

Professor Milne, before this Society, no less than 25 years ago, made a praiseworthy and ingenious attempt to estimate the age of the great site at Ōmori by reference to the rate of deposit in the higher portion of Tokyo bay. He prepared a map which showed the rates of the deposit of silt from Asakusa to Takanawa during four periods, from A.D. 1028 to 1879. The measurements were taken from old maps which were believed to give a rough indication of the increase of land.

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* The main Island of the Japanese group.

According to these, the rate of advance varied in different situations from 38 to 2 feet per annum. The minimum rate, at Shiba, was the outcome of the diminished suspension of matter in the waters of the Sumidagawa (river) at this spot. According to the map, the deposit at Takanawa was rather less than one third of that at Shiba, say, 8 inches. Professor Milne assumed that the relation of the Ōmori site to the Tamagawa (river) was not very different from that of Shiba to the Sumidagawa, but that, if anything, the rate of deposit in the former situation should exceed that of the latter. Estimating however, the advancement at Ōmori as one half that at Shiba, that is to say, 1 foot per annum, and measuring the distance from the shellheap to the shore, he came to the conclusion that it could not be more than 2,600 years old, say 500 B.C.

The actual advancement ascertained by official measurements, during the last 15 years is, I understand, about 3 inches per annum. On the assumption that the Ōmori site was originally close to the beach, a 3 inch extension of deposit per annum would give an antiquity of over 10,000 years. Even if we admit the improbability that the site was then on the beach, if we suppose that it was half way, there is still facing us an antiquity of 5,000 years. I question whether this interval is excessive, or perhaps even sufficient, but these surmises do not bring us to any definite conclusion.* Looking to other cases of alluvial deposit, I find it stated by Mr. R. Anderson that, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, the town of Ur was a seaport about 2,120 B.C., but that it is now 150 miles up the Euphrates.† Presuming that this port was actually on the sea at that date, we get an extension of land at the rate of over 60 feet per annum, but can we compare the deposit of

* The observations of Sir William Turner on the neolithic beds of Scotland, of Wibling with regard to Sweden, of Nuesch and Laloy on the post-glacial deposits of Switzerland, seem to show that a period of 10,000 years is in some cases insufficient for the duration of the neolithic culture. Keane "Man Past and Present." p. 10 *et seq.*

† "Extinct Civilisations of the East" p. 25.

this huge river with that of the Tamagawa? On the other hand we find that the rise of land from the deposit of the Nile has been computed at not more than about 3 inches per century, so that analogy would seem to furnish an unsatisfactory criterion.

With regard to the Ōmori site, I may mention that the Tōkaido (road of the eastern sea) occupied its present position near the shore three hundred years ago. This highway at a point nearest to the Ōmori site, passes alongside of the well known *shikei-ba*, or execution ground, known as "Suzu gamori;" here the road skirts the shore; at high tide the sea laps its wall, and occasionally flows over it. I followed this road for 1,600 yards, to about the commencement of the delta o the Tamagawa. For that distance, the sea is almost constantly within a few yards at high tide, though at low tide the shallows indicate a process of elevation. Had the deposit been going on at the rate of 1 foot per annum, there should have been an interval of 100 yards between the road and the sea. Not knowing the original proximity of the site to the sea, it seems a hopeless task to determine its antiquity by such measurements.

CONTENTS OF THE SITES.

The neolithic sites in Japan are usually divided into shellmounds and strata of ancient remains (*Ibutsu hoganso*). Pits are commonly referred to under a separate heading by Japanese archæologists, and so are caves. There will be no need to mention the latter again in a sketch of this nature; up to the present time no reliable evidence connects cave dwelling in Japan with the primitive culture, though it may exceptionally have occurred. Pits are connected with both the neolithic and Yamato cultures, and will receive some notice when we consider the primitive dwellings.

The separation of sites into strata and shellmounds is of questionable value. The word "stratum" does not properly

describe the disposition of these remains. Though usually covered by a layer of soil, they are found at varying depths in the same site. Occasionally they are imbedded in the red loam, but this compact foundation is seldom penetrated. Shell heaps exist in about one-tenth of the known sites,* but it is quite certain that many of them have disappeared in the course of agricultural operations. As the sites near the sea almost surely have had shellmounds, and as these localities are most suited to rice cultivation, which is usually accompanied by other cereals on the rising grounds, it follows that they were very liable to destruction. Comparing the sites on either side of the Ōmi-Ise line, (see map) I find that in the southwest the shellmounds number only about one per cent in four hundred sites, whereas in the north they number about ten per cent in over three thousand sites.† Where shellheaps are contiguous, however, or where they are approximately so, it is probable that they are frequently classed as one. They are the refuse heaps, the kitchen middings of the neolithic culture. These middings contain animal bones and other residua of the daily life such as broken pottery, and usually, discarded or useless implements of stone. The soil interspersed between the layers of shells, or sometimes between the shells themselves, is partly composed of the inorganic constituents of other material which had failed to withstand the ravages of time. The durability of shells, like that of stone implements and pottery, has attracted attention to them, but they formed merely a modicum of the refuse thrown out into the kitchen midding. I regard the shellmounds of Japan, therefore, as merely a significant accompaniment to the neolithic *site*. The latter is a better expression than "stratum," for it is sufficiently descriptive and does not imply too much.

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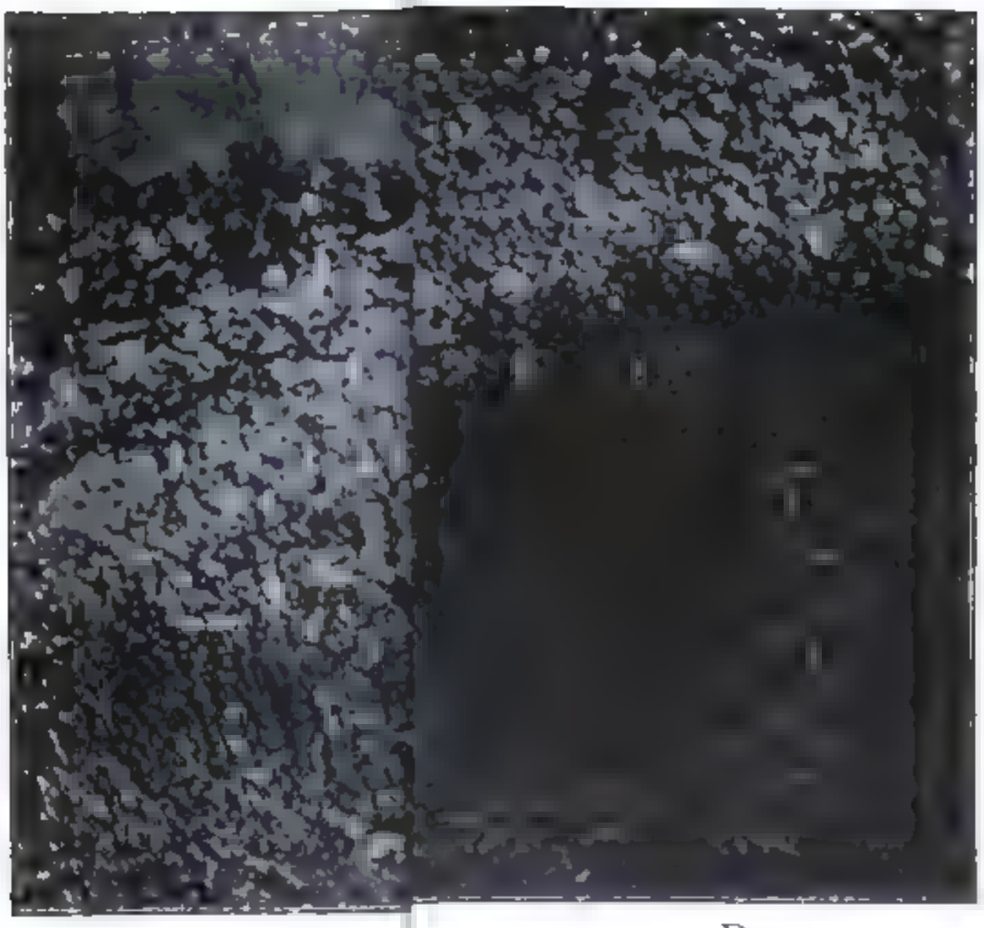
* According to Mr. Yagi Sosaburo, shellmounds are most numerous in the Kwanto, getting gradually fewer toward the Southwest and North "Kōkogaku Kenkyu Ho," (The study of Archæology).

† This might suggest a different culture as regards alimentation; we shall see that other considerations favour a prolonged Yamato occupation.

A



B

Partial section from the eruption of Mount Fuji in the year 1707. Two skulls were found, together with a primitive mirror may be seen at the lower margin of the picture. The skulls were buried in a dwelling, a familiar mode of

The term "Kaidzuka," which literally means shellmound, is of ancient origin. It is mentioned in the "Hitachi Fudoki,"* so that it was first used in this country. Until the 18th Century these heaps were vulgarly supposed to have been the abodes of giants, or (by the rational explanation) ancient sea beaches. The stone axes from these heaps, or other sites, were known as "raifu," "thunder axe," just as similar relics in Europe were called "elf bolts," or "thunder stones." When recent these heaps must have attracted a good of attention. They were used for making lime, or were scattered during the tillage of the soil. I have ready remarked that the destruction of sites is brought home o us in the Kwanto, where, in the numerous heaps of stones thrown out of the field, the observant eve will frequently discover the relics of primitive culture though shellmounds may be absent.

The shellmounds vary greatly in size. Occasionally there is only a patch of about a yard square, but areas of 2 and sometimes 5 hundred square yards, or even greater, where shellheaps have coalesced, are found, thus attesting the proclivity of neolithic man towards a diet of shellfish. Professor Tsuboi, in a recent number of the Tokyo Anthropological Magazine, states that there are 269 shellheaps in the six provinces of Sagami, Musashi, Bōshu, Kazusa, Shimosa and Hitachi, in a total of 1,232 sites, an average of 22 per cent. The shellmound is usually placed within moderate reach of the sea, though there are some exceptions. In the interior highlands, had the means of purchase been available, the weight of shellfish in proportion to its nutriment would have rendered its carriage precarious in days when "embalming" was unknown. Up country, the primitive population must have subsisted by hunting, stream fishing, plucking fruit and leaves, and the digging of roots, eked out, perhaps, by a little hoe cultivation and barter with their conquerors. Apart from theories as to the physiological effects of diet on temperament, the reversal

* Hitachi Provincial Records, 715 A. D.

of the primitive stock to the restricted rôle of the hunter, with the unsettled life and alternating periods of moral depression and violence, must have had a deteriorating effect on the survivors.

So far as my experience goes, the largest and richest shell-mounds are found on the northern aspect of the sites. It may be that here the dwellings of the upper class were situated, the north being the position of preference and of honour in later times. The attached middings here accumulated on the north side of the declivity, away from the entrance to the abode. The effluvia in winter would thus be scarcely noticeable, while in summer the prevailing wind from the south would be free from odour. Whether this was a desideratum one cannot say, but certainly in my limited experience, the most extensive, and especially the richest, shellheaps have been to the north of the sites. Figure 3 shows a section from one of my excavations, where the deposit of shells on the northern declivity is seen.

SHELLS.

These have been studied by Professors Morse, Brauns and Oka Asajiro, who have come to the conclusion that, in the words of Morse, "a pronounced change has taken place in the molluscan fauna of the Bay of Yedo, since the Ōmori deposits were made." I have little knowledge of this fauna, and regret that I have not been able to give this matter the attention which it deserves, but Professor Oka Asajiro has kindly sent me the following list:

1.—Helix Mackensii Ad. et Reeve.
2.—H. quasita Linn.
3.—H. luhuana Sowerby.
4.—Cyclophorus Herklotsi Mart.
5.—Haliotis gigantea Chemn.
6.—Natica Lamarckiana Reeve.
7.—N. janthostoma Deshayes.

8.—Globulus costata Val.
9.—Gl. gigantea Lesson.
10.—Turbo marmoratus Linn.
11.—Marmorostoma sp.?
12.—Dolium luteostoma Küster.
13.—Rapana bezoar Linné.
14.—Trochus nigricolor Dunker.
15.—Tr. argyrostoma Gmel.
16.—Monodonta labio Linn.
17.—Purpura bronni Dunker.
18.—P. luteostoma Chemn.
19.—Turbo cornutus Gmel.
20.—Strombus luhuanus Linn.
21.—Siphonaria cassidariaeformis Reeve.
22.—Cancellaria spengleriana Desh.
23.—Buccinum undulatum Linn.
24.—Hemifusus tuba Gmel.
25.—Vivipara japonica Mart.
26.—Eburna japonica Reeve.
27.—Nassa gracilis Reeve.
28.—Fusus inconstans Lischke.
29.—Ancillaria rubiginosa Swainson.
30.—Cerithium sp.
31.—Lampania multiformis Lischke.
32.—Vermetus sp.
33.—Pecten laqueatus Sowb.
34.—P. yessoensis Jay.
35.—P. laetus Gould.
36.—Arca granosa Linn.
37.—A. subcrenata Lischke.
38.—A. inflata Reeve.
39.—A. sp.
40.—Solen Gouldi Conrad.
41.—Pectunculus albolineatus Lischke.
42.—P. fulguratus Dunker.

43.—Cyclina chinensis Chemn.
44.—Dosinia troscheli Lischke.
45.—Cardium muticum Reeve.
46.—Tapes philippinarum Ad. et Reeve
47.—Mactra sachalinensis Schrenk.
48.—Lutraria Nuttalli Conrad.
49.—Meroë excavata Sowb.
50.—Arca sp.
51.—Tellina sp.
52.—Mya arenaria Linn.
53.—Panopaea sp.
54.—Corbicula pexata Prime.
55.—Mactra veneriformis Deshayes.
56.—M. sulcata Desh.
57.—Cytherea meretrix Linn.
58.—Mytilus crassitestata Lischke.
59.—Pinna Chemnitzi Hanl.
60.—Anomia laqueata.?
61.—Ostrea denselamellosa Lischke.
62.—O. gigas Thunberg.
63.—O. cuculata Born.

The bivalve shells were probably used for various purposes, such as scrapers, spoons &c., and certainly as receptacles for pigment and other substances, as well as for ornament.

Bone and Horn.

The bones and teeth of man and various animals occur in the sites, but human remains are rare. These will be noted with reference to the primitive inhabitants; most of the animal remains are the refuse of food and will be enumerated under that section. The objects of bone or horn comprise:

1.—Fishing hook.
2.—Harpoon barb and holder.
3.—Arrow head.

4.—Arrow nock.
5.—Bow tip.
6.—Fire drill bow?
7.—Bone presser for flaking stone.
8.—Nozzle for floating bladder?
9.—Needle.
10.—Netting needle.
11.—Bodkin.
12.—Personal and other ornaments.

Staghorn was more in use than bone, probably on account of its toughness.

There are other objects the function of which is not ascertained, some apparently being for ornament. Teeth, perforated to serve as personal ornament, sometimes occur in the shellheaps.

Vegetal Matter.

Articles of wood have not yet been exhumed, but exploration in the peat may reveal such. I understand that stone implements have been found in this formation. In Hitachi an axe was found with a piece of decayed wood, which might have been a handle, lying at right angles to it. Charcoal and charred wood are common. Within a small jar I found some pieces of chopped root, much decayed. Walnut shells are known and I have recovered a charred chestnut, but have as yet failed to identify any kind of cereal. The probability of recovering small seed is slight, but wood ashes, which are plentiful, are somewhat preservative, and should be thoroughly searched. Implements and utensils of wood, bamboo, and reed, were surely among the original refuse of these middings.

Stone.

1.—Mallet or hammer.
2.—Axe.

3.—Adze.
4.—Chisel.
5.—Scraper.
6.—Flake (knife &c.)
7.—Awl.
8.—Saw.
9.—Knife.
10.—Spearhead.
11.—Arrowhead.
12.—Mace head.
13.—Spindle or drill weight.
14.—Fishing weight.
15.—Mortar or mill.
16.—Pestle or rubbing stone.
17.—Grindstone, whetstone, polishing stone.
18.—Sling stone. ?
19.—Stone image (very rare).
20.—Carved stone.
21.—Stone rod, pillar or club, (Stone fetich. ?)
22.—Stone sword. ?
23.—Sounding stone. ?
24.—Stone ornament or treasure.
25.—Cupped, perforated, and other stones of uncertain function.

CLAY.

1.—Cooking pot and pan.
2.—Bowl.
3.—Plate.
4.—Cup.
5.—Drinking pot.
6.—Water bottle.
7,—Bottle.
8.—Jar.

9.—Vase.
10.—Spindle or drill weight.
11.—Lamp.
12.—Brazier.
13.—Incense burner?
14.—Personal ornament.
15.—Fishing weight.
16.—Plaque.
17.—Human image and head.
18.—Mask.
19.—Animal figures.

The Primitive Life.

The neolithic phase of culture in Japan, as vouched for by numerous remains, had attained to a high degree of provision, not only for the immediate necessities, but also for the amenities of human existence. As a primitive culture, it was of an advanced type, little, if any, inferior to the recent neolithic of Europe. The iron culture which displaced it was, probably even at its début in this country, a stage removed from it, but I question whether in all-round culture it was at this time greatly superior to that indigenous to Japan. I speak of the period prior to the present era. The salient fact of agriculture however, bespeaks some advance on a culture which had barely risen above the level of the hunting and fishing stage.

HABITATIONS.

Little doubt exists as to one type of dwelling frequented by the primitive inhabitants. Beginning with the known, I may call to mind the fact that in Saghalin and the Kurile islands there are, or were recently, pit dwellings in actual use. The description given by Mr. Snow * is so terse and graphic that I shall quote it here. "The dwellings of these people were con-

* Geographical Journal, 1885.

structed by hollowing out a shallow pit, usually in sandy soil, planting posts around it, and, if they could be got, making an inside lining of boards. Poles were laid across the top, forming a flat roof, and more poles laid at an angle from the edge of the roof so as to give the sides a sharp slope. The whole was covered with reeds or grass, on which was placed earth and turf. The entrance was closed by a roughly made wooden door, which opened into a small lobby and low narrow passage, with another door opening into the main compartment. Around the sides of this, bunk-like recesses were constructed under the lean-to side walls. These were thickly strewn with dried grass and used as sleeping places. Sometimes these dwellings consisted of two or three rooms, each one being separated by a short low narrow passage, with a door at each end. These larger houses are found more particularly on Shumishir, where the natives were much better off than those of the central Kuriles."

In Saghalin such houses are called *Toi-chisei*, or *Toiche*. The latter word is used in the Kuriles. The former is probably the correct Ainu word and is given as "an earthen house," *Toi* being the Ainu word for "earth," "land," or "clay," and *Chisei*, a "hut," an "abode."* An illustrated manuscript in my possession, written in the beginning of the last century, gives a picture of an "earth dwelling" in Yezo, much like that described by Mr. Snow. This is said to have been used by the "west Ainu."

In the "Tokai Yawa," or "Evening talks of East Yezo,"† by Dr. Ōuchi Yoan, who resided in Yezo for three years as government physician, mention is made of pits at Kusuri. These surround the table land on which the fortified place of Menka-kushi stood. Dr. Ōuchi stated that these pits are supposed to be the dwellings of the *Koshito* "small people," but adds that these *koshito* must have been a very ancient

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* "An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar" by the Rev. John Batchelor F. R. G. S.

† A. D. 1860.

people, as the great grandfather of Menkakushi knew nothing whatever about them. On digging in this place he found some unglazed pottery and an iron pot, with handles inside. In the "Kita Yezo Zusetsu," or "Illustrated talks of North Yezo," * by Mr. Mamiya Rinzo, it is said that the mode of building houses in Saghalin was similar to that of the "Ainu of Hokkaido," and the construction is given. A site was chosen on the side of an elevation and excavated to a depth of three or four feet. Four posts were driven into the ground and the intervening space was filled in with branches of trees, bark and grass. A ladder was used for entrance and exit. In Saghalin these houses were occupied only from September, or October, till February or March, as sickness was said to follow prolonged residence.

In the Kuriles, Mr. Torii Ryuzo, who made a visit of inspection in 1899, also found the remains of pit dwellings, some of which had been in recent use. The pit dwelling was called *Toiche*, and the summer residence *inunche*, which is not quite appropriately given as "fishing house," though it doubtless means little more in the Kuriles. "Inun," is translated by Batchelor "to stay away from home in pursuit of one's livelihood, as when fishing, or working in a distant garden." These pits have been found mainly on the northern islands of the Kurile group.

In Yezo no pit dwellings now exist, but pits are plentiful. Captain Blakiston was probably the first European to note their presence on this island. He published an account of them 33 years ago and was followed by Professor Milne, who made some suggestive remarks about them before this Society in 1882. According to the latter gentleman's observation, the soil from the pit was banked up around it, so as to form a low wall.† The Yezo pits, found at Kusuri, Mororan, Abashiri, Otaru, Sapporo, &c. are evidently the remains of pit dwellings. In diameter the largest are between 40 and 50 feet and the smallest

* 1855 A. D.

† All pit dwellings correspond in this respect.

from 15 to 20 feet. The shape is usually square, occasionally round, rarely crescentic. Professor Milne attributed variations in outline to the caving in of the soil.* Though the Hokkaido Ainu do not live in pit dwellings at the present day, their tradition about this kind of abode is widely known. It has been taken too seriously. The name *Koropok-un-guru*; † meaning, as Batchelor says, "persons dwelling below," and the Japanese words, *Koshito* or *kobito*, "small persons," (the little folk, dwarfs,) are inference myths, like the elves and pigmies of Europe. The occurrence of crude pottery with wares of wood and iron in the pits suggests that they were formerly inhabited by the Ainu.

The presence of pits in Honshu (Main Island), was brought to light, in modern times, by Mr. Sato Denzo. These are found in fairly large numbers in Mutsu, mainly in the Nishi-Tsugaru district of this province. At Tokoshinai and Ohiru, they reach an altitude of 1,500 and 2,000 feet respectively. At Tateishi there are also a good many. ‡

Pits have been discovered in various other parts of Japan. These have not been thoroughly investigated, but seem for the most part to be vestiges of another culture. The pottery usually found in the latter is called *Yayoishiki*, "Yayoi sort," because it was first encountered in breaking ground at Yoyoi street in Tokyo. I shall refer to it later. These pits have a depth of two, or at most three feet, are found in clusters, sometimes in large numbers, and extend from Kyushu to the north of the Kwanto, and even sparsely as far as Mutsu. More complete investigation is awaited, but I shall presently give grounds for my conviction that they were used by the lower orders of, or those natives adopted by, the Yamato. Pit dwellings are used by the poorer classes of Corea at the present day.

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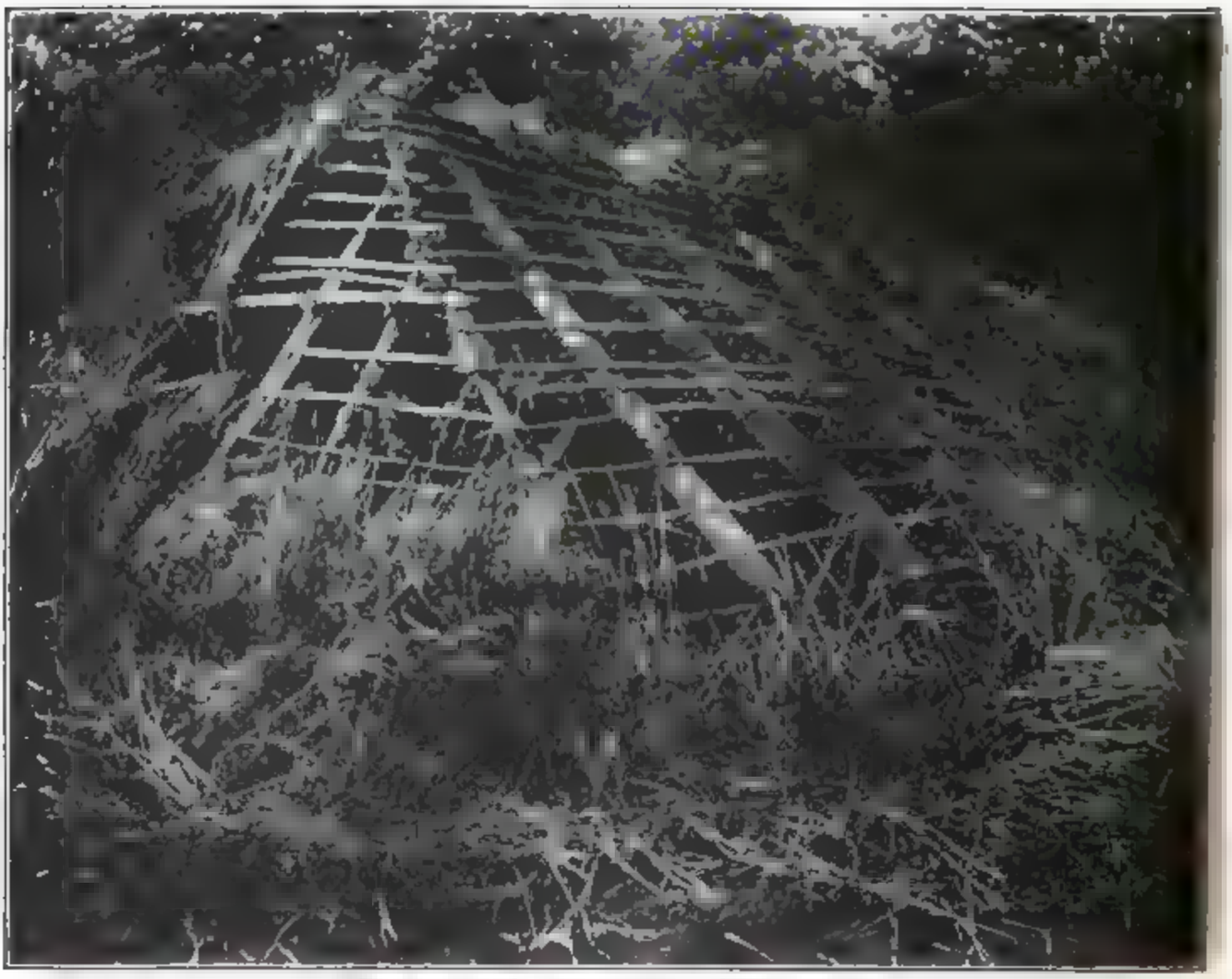
* It is probable that some of the pits were round.

† Ainu word.

‡ Messers Ono and Matsumura in the "Journal of the Tokyo Authropological Society" October 1901.

Some of the former pariah or *Eta* folk of Japan, now admitted to citizenship, still continue to use pit dwellings from October till March or April, according to the season. A few, indeed, continue to use them as workshops during the year. Many of these people work in leather and straw, and the somewhat damp warmth of these pits is supposed to facilitate the manipulation of these materials. These pit dwellings are often occupied as residences during the winter months, and present a survival of a more general custom. I have inspected a number of these and a short description may be of interest. These apartments are usually separate from the permanent houses, being sometimes connected by a roofed passage. The size may be only 8 feet square, sometimes 9 by 10 or even 12 feet. The pits, with rare exceptions, are dug freshly each autumn, are nearly always square and the contained soil is heaped up so as to form a low wall, or embankment. The depth is from 1½ to 2 feet. The inner surface of this embankment is about a foot, sometimes a little more, distant from the side of the pit, so that a ledge is left all round the pit, to do duty as a shelf or table. The rafters of the roof run through this embankment into the soil and are bound to the ridge-pole by straw or grass rope. The cross pieces and all material used in the construction are bound in this primitive fashion, nails being out of keeping with such a type of dwelling. (fig. 4). The roof is generally rectangular, though one of round or polygonal form is to be seen rarely. The covering is a rough thatch of straw, laid on in two layers, between which is an inch or two of earth, which is supposed to preserve the warmth. It is, like the absence of iron nails, a primitive survival. A kind of gable is usually affixed to the main roof as an after-thought, running in one or two directions as a protection to the door or window, against snow and rain, as seen in fig. 5. Here the window with paper panes is to the right and the entrance to the left, adjoining the permanent house; though the gable disguises the shape of the roof it is merely an appendage to it.

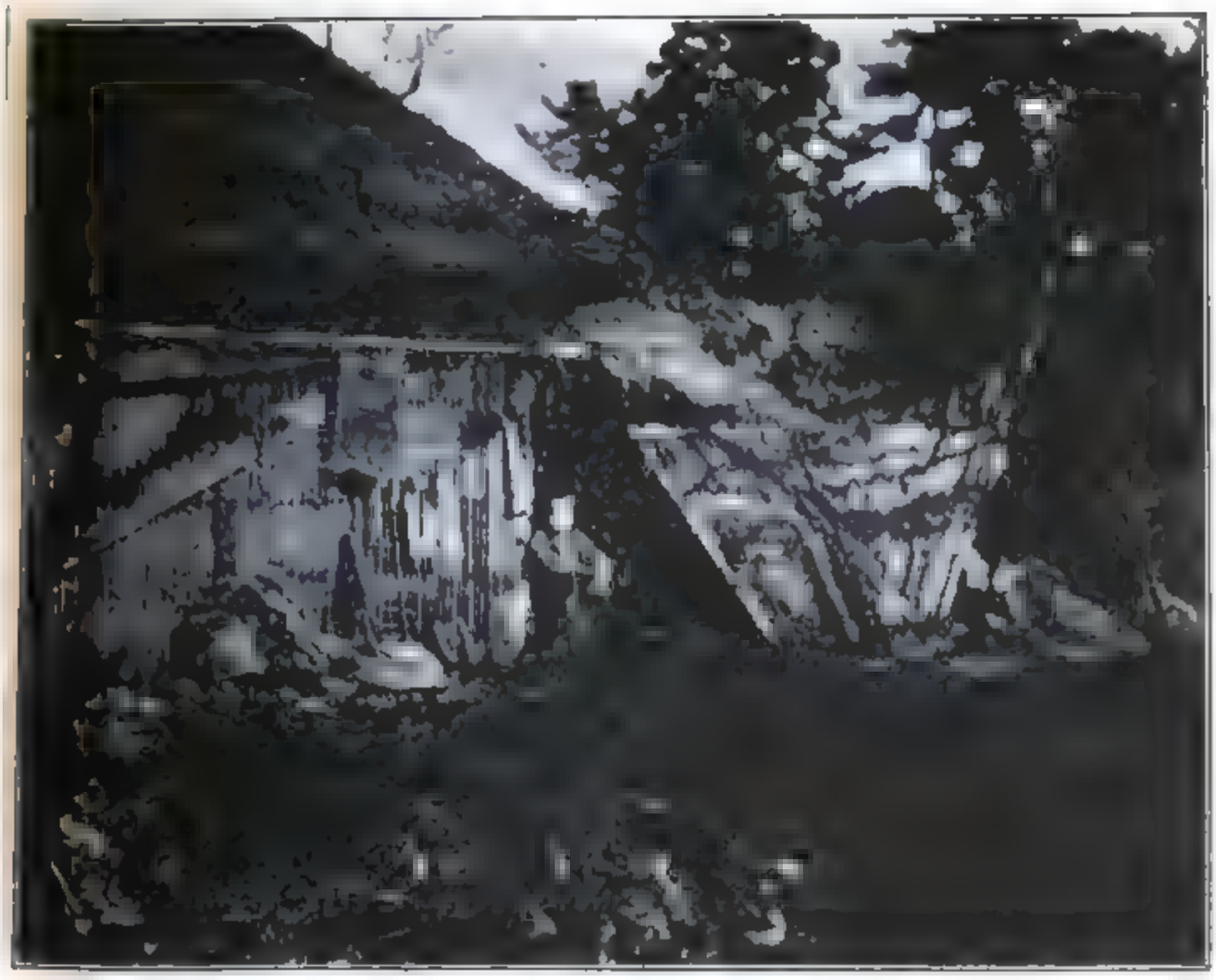
Fig. 4.



Eta mura, under construction, showing roof.

Sometimes a single storm screen is employed instead, as in fig. 6. A ladder of short poles, with one or two bound horizontally to form steps, leads down from the entrance, which is protected in rough weather by a piece of coarse matting. The interior contains one room, the earthen floor of which is covered by mats of straw and the sides usually likewise. The height of the ridge pole from the floor is 6 feet or over, but the sloping sides render it impossible to move about except in a stooping posture. An interesting survival of the pit dwelling is seen in houses where the actual pit has been discarded. In fig. 7, the low window supplies light and air to a chamber with earthen floor sometimes a little below the level of the house.

Fig. 5.



Ita-muro (to the right) showing protection of window and door by gables affixed to the roof proper.

This is used as a workshop and as a residence in winter. It occurs to one that the cellar * of European houses may be a vestige of pit-dwelling.

The word *Muro*, remains in the Japanese language to express an underground chamber of any kind † and anciently a residence. *Muro* are used for preserving the heat of plants to hasten their growth, to encourage fermentation of rice in the manufacture of the intoxicating beverage, *Sake*, and for keeping ice. The word is now exclusively Japanese, but I venture the

* Cell, in Sanskrit Kal, was a house, hut, an abode.

† Also a private room; what we might call a "den"

Fig. 6

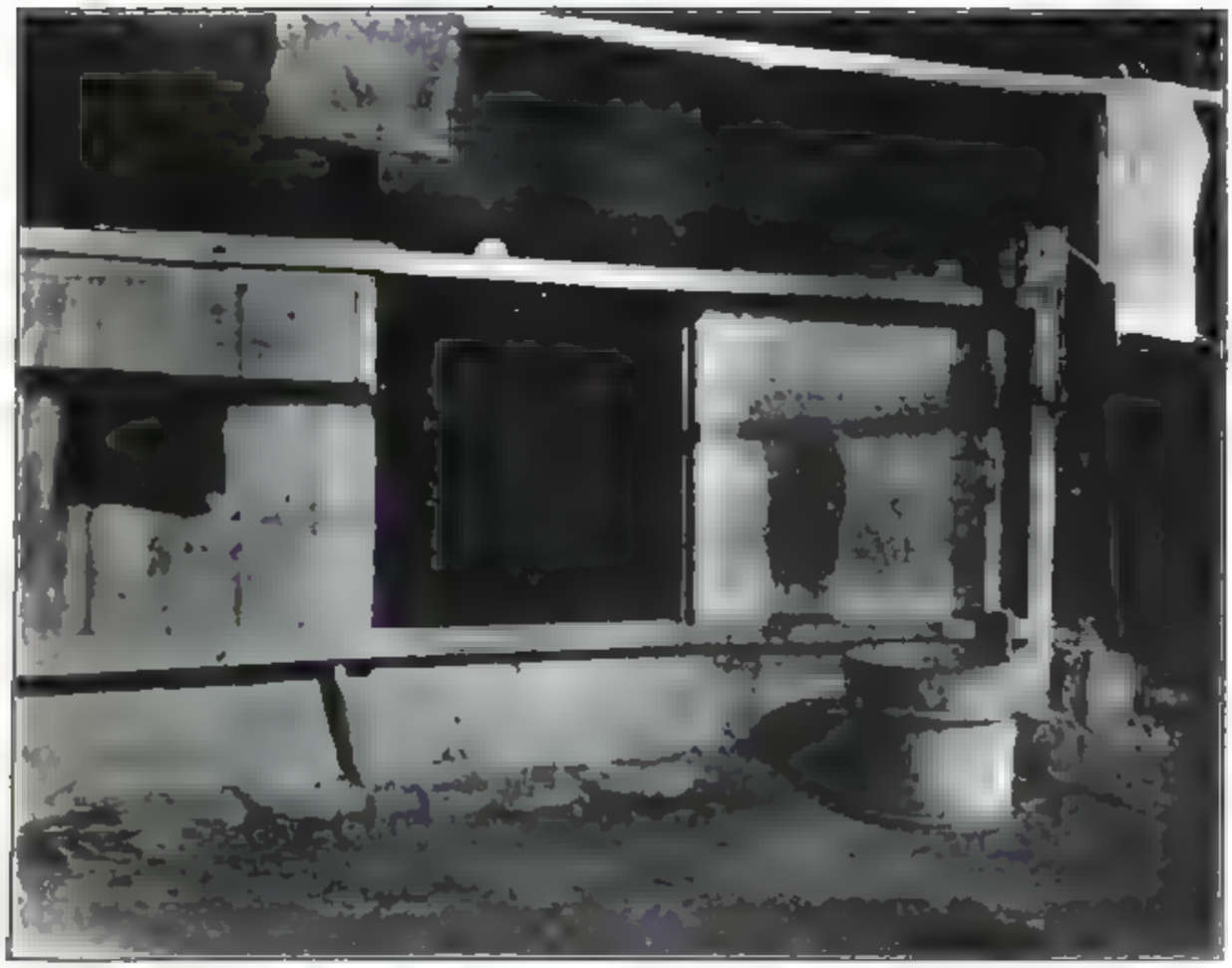
Sketch of *Eta-muro*, with storm screen.

suggestion that it may have had an Ainu origin. "*Mu*," in modern Ainu, means to slope, "to slant upwards or downwards;" * words having the component "*ro*," refer to some part of an Ainu hut (originally a hearth?), "*roro*" or "*rot*," for instance being "the head or eastern end of a fireplace: that part of the inside of a hut which lies between the eastern window and a fireplace." †

* "An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary" by the Rev. John Batchelor F.R.G.S. Mr. Aston, in a note to his translation of the Nihongi mentions the "thatched roof sloping to the ground" of a pit house for pilgrims which he observed at the foot of Mount Oboyama.

† *Ibid.*

Fig. 7.



Uchi muro, or House with apartment on, and sometimes below, the ground.

In the Kojiki and Nihongi, and in the provincial records, there are several references to pit houses and dwellers.* What

* The "Kojiki" or "Records of Ancient Matters," was given out in the year 712 A. D., though it had been in preparation near the end of the previous century. It embodies mythology with miraculous and other legends, later traditions and history, which has an air of probability, for about two centuries before the publication of the work. The later accounts are not without flaw, but on the other hand there is probably some true history in the older stories, if only we could separate the wheat from the the chaff. The translation of this classic, carried out by Professor Chamberlain and placed before this Society in 1882, gives to the world a collection of material for the historian and the student of folklore, of great interest and importance.

The Nihongi, published in 720 A. D., was based on the Kojiki, or on sources common to these two works, but was apparently arranged to suit the Chinese taste of the court, if not the taste of the Chinese court, in the beginning of the 8th century. It contains however, many variants of myths and legends given in the Kojiki, which seem to have been compiled with the desire to give "all the authorities." Its chronology, was guesswork, framed on a Chinese calendar, within

may possibly be a faded memory of a pit dwelling, is given in the legend from the Kojiki concerning the retirement of Amaterasu-oho-mi-kami, the "Heaven Shining Great August Deity," behind the door of the "Heavenly-Rock-Dwelling"; the word "rock," according to the great critic Motoori,* not necessarily having a literal significance. In the Nihongi, a "doorless *muro*" is mentioned, in connection with the accouchement of Ka-ashi-tsuhime. Under the marvels of the reign of Jimmu Tenno, we read, "On making his progress thence, a person with a tail came out of a well. The well shone." Is it a mythopœic inference that a well which shone, might have been a subterranean dwelling? Again, we are told that Keiko Tenno erected a temporary palace *muro* and dwelt therein. In the reign of Nintoku Tenno, an "ice *muro*" is described (374 A. D., in the chronology of the Nihongi). "The imperial prince said:—'how is the ice stored? moreover, for what is it used?': He said:—'the ground is excavated to a depth of over ten feet. The top is then covered with a roof of thatch. A thick layer of reed grass is then spread, upon which the ice is laid. The months of summer have passed, and yet it has not melted. As to its use, when the hot months come, it is placed in water, or *sake* and thus used." †

The roof of the Ainu hut, like that of many Japanese houses, is first joined together, then elevated to the desired height, a survival possibly of the time when the roof was, constructively, the house.‡ The Japanese house of rural districts, with its

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the limits of probability as it was understood at the time (prodigious longevity &c.). Although there is much that is doubtful, there appears no deliberate attempt to falsify history, while the mythology and legends convince us of their survival from a remote antiquity. This lack of reliability is less to be regretted, because it could not have been altered at the time of the Kojiki or Nihongi, except by a process of elimination. We have therefore to thank the absence of the critical faculty for the preservation of this important mass of folklore. From the attempts of the Nihongi to rationalise some of these stories, it is evident that their fabulous nature was recognised at the time of the 8th century, but the capacity of the past to produce marvels was not generally discredited.

* "Kojiki-Den," (Exposition of the Kojiki) 1790-1822.

† Nihongi, Aston's translation vol. 1 p. 297-8.

‡ Compare fig. 3 with the illustration of Ainu hut erection at p. 120 of the "Ainu and their Folk Lore," Batchelor.

walls of wattle and clay, fig. 5, exhibits a somewhat primitive construction, to be seen also in Scotland and elsewhere. The tendency throughout rural Japan to build these houses in hollows, shows an appreciation of the kindly shelter afforded by such depressions. The present *muro* of the former *eta* is unquestionably a survival from ancient times, when the primitive population and the lower orders of the Yamato, like their present kinsmen in Corea, were wont to take refuge in pit-dwellings during the inclement seasons. When the Kojiki was written, this habit had apparently lapsed among the upper classes and, like the myth of the Koropok-guru, was already attributed to an alien people. There are, however, sufficient indications, that the custom of pit-dwelling had been shared by the Yamato.

MAINTENANCE.

Food, as a necessity more pressing than shelter, might have claimed our attention first. The difficulty of considering the means of sustenance without reference to the methods by by which it was obtained and prepared, leads me to postpone the little there is to be said about it, till I have treated of the industrial arts of the primitive Japanese. In this section I shall briefly consider the implements and weapons, the utensils and materials, including diet, which were utilised in the life cycle of the neolithic phase in Japan.

In turning to the primitive sites for evidence of the above, we must keep in mind that what is recovered from thence, represents the skeleton only, of the primitive outfit. The implements of horn and bone have not altogether disappeared, but those of wood and bamboo, the skins, the textile fabrics, the feathers and other flimsy gewgaws, the varieties of vegetal food, the resinous and other juices of plants, have practically vanished through disintegration in the soil. Yet what is absent was of more intimate importance to the primitive life than that which has outlasted dissolution. A moment's reflection tells us that this vanished material was essential, not only to the

creature comfort, but to the actual existence of the primitive inhabitant.

The use of stone, it may be observed, lies more in the direction of preparing other material for human needs than of administering directly to them. For instance the axe, chisel, hoe, scraper, arrowhead, spindleweight, and milling stone are all one or more steps removed from the end sought, such as dressing wood for house, furniture, or implement construction, preparing the soil or digging roots, capture and preparation of flesh and skin, and grinding roots or cereals. Generally speaking its function was intermediary, but as a means to an end it was indispensable. As an end in itself, it played the part of a god, or as an ornament for the person. These latter aspects will be treated under *religion* and *recreation*.

Any kind of stone sufficiently durable and workable was used, the first consideration being of greater importance, as the technique of the neolithic phase dealt with quite refractory minerals. The choice was naturally determined mainly by the locality, but special kinds were sometimes conveyed from a considerable distance, for instance, obsidian, and serpentine. Blocks of lava for mortars and, perhaps, fetich stones, were sometimes transported from afar. The bed of a river or stream, or the cobbles on the seashore supplied hard stone for implement making. As W. H. Holmes has pointed out, the softer rocks in their passage down a river, become triturated to sand or fine gravel, leaving the harder in the lower reaches. A process of "natural selection" thus placed in the hands of primitive man the material most suited to his needs. As to the minerals used, I have seen various kinds of sandstone and lime stone, granite, argillite, chlorite schist, flint, hornstone, serpentine, steatite, obsidian, common lava, agate, quartz,mica, pumice, chalk, cinnabar and hæmatite.

The stone celt, under which Sir John Evans, in his learned and fascinating work, * includes hatchets, adzes and chisels,

* "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain" 2nd ed. p. 55.

was the generic type of primitive implement, and is now the main guide to the state of this culture. I need scarcely call to mind that smoothness is generally regarded as the *sine qua non* of the recent, and roughness of the most ancient, celt. The polished is generally held to be an advance on the chipped weapon or implement, though various degrees of workmanship are recognised in the latter. In Japan, the roughest of "paleolithic type" is found along with the finest specimens of polished handiwork. Hence has arisen the impression, conveyed by several European works, that the paleolithic tool is found in Japan. It may not be out of place, therefore, to say that the celts referred to, though doubtless a survival of paleolithic times, are always found in neolithic association. I shall refer later to my preliminary work in the gravel, of which in my opinion, the results are as yet not quite conclusive. Experienced Japanese archeologists tell me that no other observations are on record, bearing on this question.

Polished implements, if found in tertiary strata, would occasion much speculation, but roughly finished ones in recent deposits might easily be accounted for by accidental interference with their completion,* or the intention on the part of the maker to give no more finish than was necessary for a particular purpose. Just as the broom, is still a bundle of twigs, when used in the garden, but has been modified to the interior needs of the modern house, so these rough celts continued to be used for rough purposes. They no more indicate a paleolithic culture than does the milling stone, extant, sometimes in a primitive form, in Europe at the present day.

The general form of the polished stone axe is conical, one end broad for cutting and the other narrow for grasping or hafting; it is obvious that this form tended to resist displacement from the holder (hand, or haft), when concussion took

* W. H. Holmes ("Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province") has demonstrated that many of the so-called paleoliths are merely the "rejects" of neolithic factories.

place. The similarity in form between these objects all over the world is remarkable and indicates a prolonged evolution and perhaps transmigration. The gap which separates the paleolithic from the neolithic tool is emphasised by a rather prevalent form in the former, which is that of a pick, with the conical end pointed for use. Another kind is almond shaped, with cutting edges. In fact the arrowhead of stone has preserved the shape of the paleolithic, (pointed or even almond shaped) implement, which tempts one to indulge in the reflection that the early contrivance was a javelin or spear as much as a working tool, and perhaps more so. My impression is that the pointed paleolithic tool is not the prototype of the polished celt, but rather that it represents the acme of form suited to stabbing and picking, while the shape of the polished axe took after the natural stones of conical form which are so often to be seen on the beach or riverside. With suitable cobbles, the process of rubbing would be confined to the broad end, the other being adapted for the grip. These, however, would furnish only a limited supply, and thus these primitive neolithic celts may have escaped observation. There is a growing conviction that the neolithic culture is less recent than formely supposed.*

* It is generally accepted as a rule to which there are but few exceptions, that the paleolithic or old stone phase is identified with a race of long heads (Dolichocephalic), while the prehistoric neolithic or newer stone phase, with its finely chipped and especially its polished stone implements, is associated with a race of round heads (brachycephalic). The former, in Europe, long anticipated the latter, and there are reasons for the view that the long headed, rough tool makers had spent the greater portion of their culture phase *in situ*. A distinct evolution is to be traced here, but what about the neolithic culture? It did not drop from the clouds, it was not "built in a day," it had its birthplace and its period of incubation. If it is indissolubly linked to a round headed race, the two may be looked for, to use the hackneyed phrase, "somewhere in Asia," but surely some trace of an evolution will be found, of culture, if not of the perishable cranium. It is possible that the celts referred to by Sir John Evans as ground only at the edge, are steps in the evolution of the polished implement, but if evolved from the classical paleolith, the steps seen insufficient. It does not seem to be quite prudent, in the present chaotic state of prehistoric Ethnology, to guess at a definite locality for the birth of the neolithic culture. One can only say that like the round head of Europe, it has the look of having come "from abroad." In spite of the declaration of the experienced ethnologist Ujfalvy, that the protomongolian was dolichocephalic, there is, however, a growing belief that the cradle of the brachycephals and the neolithic, or, more correctly, polished stone culture, lay in

Like the neolithic axe of Europe and America, that of Japan and probably of the rest of Asia, exhibits many varieties of the conical shape. Sometimes the sides are round, sometimes flattened, and the surfaces too, are sometimes flattened, so that in section the celt is almost quadrangular. But all the variations, or nearly so, found in Japan, have their duplicates in some other part of the world.

With the possible exception of No. 3, all the forms of fig. 8 are found in Europe or America, and the underlying principle of No. 3, namely the edge ground to one side only, known in Japan as *kataha*, occurs elsewhere. This type is rare in Japan, being found mainly, though I understand not exclusively, in the north. The interesting groove on the side of No. 3, somewhat in shadow in the illustration, and those on No. 2, Appendix II, show the method of detachment by erosion with sand and water and a tool of wood or stone. When the parent block was large a groove was made on either side and fracture then employed. Especially in the north, frequently insufficient care was taken to remove the rough surface thus left. Sometimes the shape was roughly outlined by chipping, before rubbing on the grindstone.

The largest axes, lithographic plate, (appendix II) No. 1, are confined to the north of Japan, especially Yezo, but I have one or two fragments (from the Kwanto) of what must have been very large implements.

Perforated axes are rare in Japan, No. 8, fig. 8. One similar to this is seen in Evans' work (p. 142). Such an implement may have been designed for suspension, or the

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central Asia, *possibly* in the Pamir region, the "roof of the world" where Max Müller formerly perched the so-called Aryan race. Whatever the causes that drove man from the easy life of the tropics to the less fruitful and clement northern mountains, it is certain that in surroundings which call for effort, his culture has assumed its keenest and most active form, *pari passu* with a relative advance of brain development. It is equally certain that there is a limit to this advance in any one region, that degeneration follows too rigorous conditions of life, and that racial intermixture is needed to reinforce human energy and culture. It is not unlikely that the neolithic culture was the resultant of various racial efforts and changes of scene.

Fig. 8.

Japanese Neolithic Axe Types. (¼ size). Nos. 1 and 5, Sandstone. 2, 6, and 7 Serpentine. 4 Hornblend Sandstone. 3, 8 and 9, Chlorite Schist.

perforation may have been intended to assist fixation to a shaft by thong or cord. In the above specimen, the hole is excavated from both faces of the implement, the usual plan of perforating hard substances in this grade of culture. Pottery however, is not infrequently found pierced for purpose of repair, by a hole drilled straight through the paste.

The specimen illustrated in fig. 9. is interesting on account of its double edge. It has been detached by erosion and was either hafted in the middle, or perhaps used as a knife.

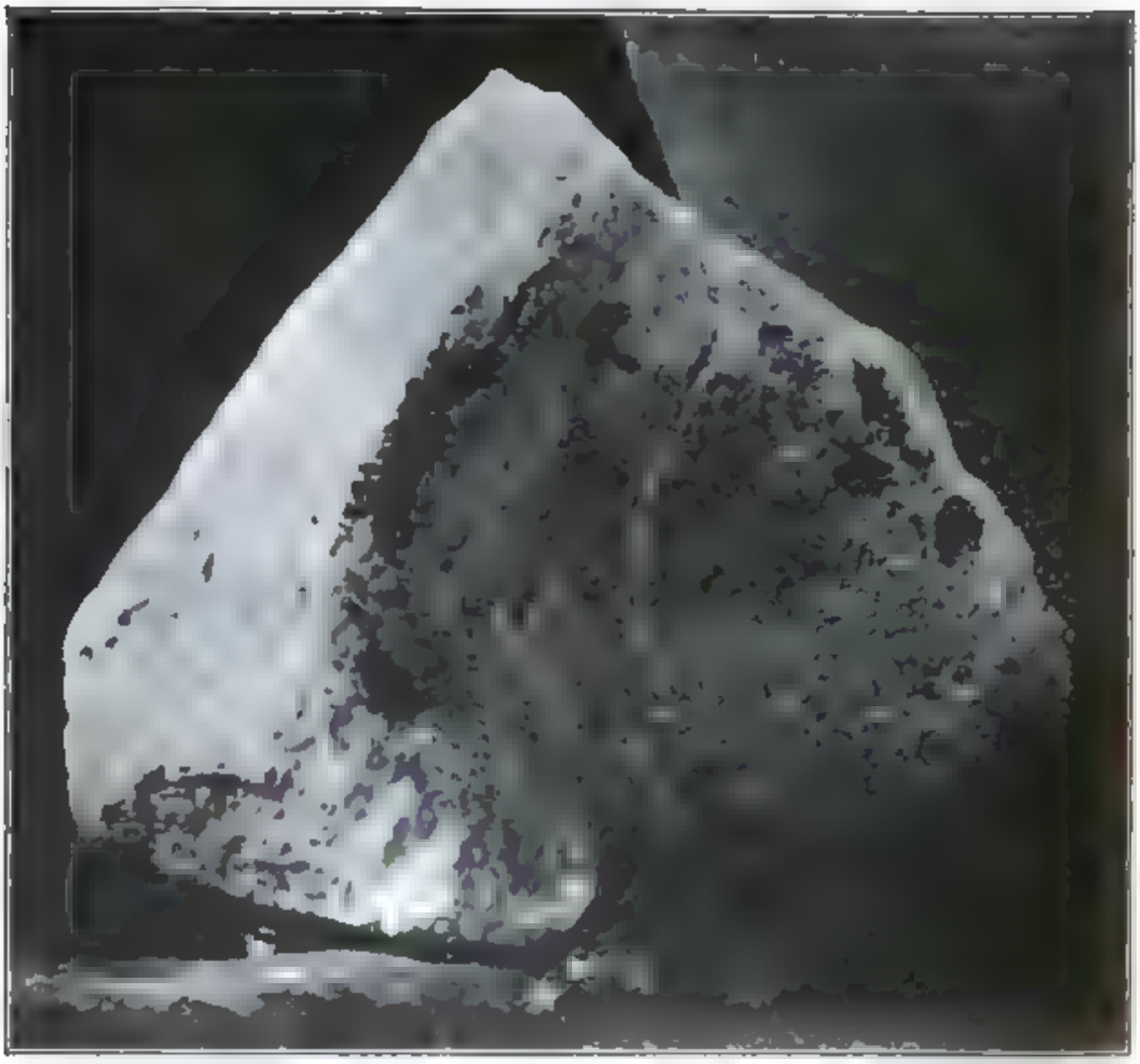
No. 1. fig. 11 (lent by Dr. Takashima) is a piece of chlorite schist, ground as if to divide it, but perhaps broken in the process.

After being cut or chipped to a rough shape, these implements were finished by rubbing on grindstones. For the preliminary form, a rough stone may have been employed, but for sharpening or finishing a finer whetstone was necessary. A sample of such is seen in fig. 10. (fractured). While on the subject of whetstones, I may call attention to Nos. 2 and 3, fig. 11. The former is grooved like No. 1 , but not for the purpose of detaching a piece. It is a soft porous lava, almost like

Fig. 9.

Double edged axe of red serpentine, (natural size).

Fig. 10.



Hone for finishing and sharpening implements.
(½ size.)

pumice, and has been used for rubbing to a fine point, or smoothing, some narrow implement of stone, wood or bone. The triangular piece of pumice, No. 3, fig. 11, is a hone or file, adapted to finishing bone or hard wood.

When the edge of an axe was dulled or even broken, it could be restored. Specimens are therefore seen in which the length has diminished while the thickness remains the same, like the stub of a pencil. The edge is then usually rather obtuse for effective work.

The edge of the axe is not always at a right angle with the long axis. In Nos. 5 and 6, fig. 12, the angle is seen to be

Fig. 11.

Stones for filing, polishing, grinding etc.
(⅓ size.)

less than a right one. In my collection there are some specimens closely approaching the knife form: one especially has an edge curved almost like No. 14. fig. 21, but though it exists in several collections it has not been definitely traced to a primitive site, and I shall not include it here. Were it so, one could say that the steps of a definite evolution from the axe to the knife form had been followed. The small celts, Nos. 2 and 3, fig. 12, of which about one fourth is wanting in No. 3, are polished chisels or knives. As Sir John Lubbock has remarked, it is as difficult to tell all the uses to which such implements were applied as to enumerate the functions of a pocket knife.

A singular specimen is seen in No. 4., fig. 12. I lay special stress on the fact that it came from one of my excavations at Mitsusawa, in Musashi province,* because it is otherwise unknown in Japan, so far as my enquiries go, and because it is rare in Europe. It is illustrated at page. 135 of "The Stone Implements etc. of Great Britain." Sir John Evans calls attention to the roughening of the butt by "being picked with a sharp pointed tool," which, he suggests, was done in order to facilitate insertion into a buckhorn handle. "The expansion of the blade towards the edge," as Evans remarks, "is very remarkable." Another specimen, which cannot be traced to its source, came into my possession from an old collection and resembles the description of one from the lower Loire, know as "hache a bouton," or "hache a tete."† because the but end is furnished with a knob.

No. 1, fig. 12, is well known in Japan. It was probably a hammer, as the battered ends indicate, the depression in the centre with the ridge on either side, suggest that it was hafted in the middle. These objects are carefully finished and give rise to the idea that thay may have been used in

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* Exceptional specimens deserve special authentication. "Expert opinion," within my experience, is an unreliable substitute for personal investigation.

† *Op. cit.* p. 135.

Fig. 12.

Stone Axes and Mallets.
(½ size.)

1. Chlorite Schist. 2 Andesite. 3 Serpentine.
4. Chlorite Schist. 5 Chlorite epidotite.
6. Chlorite Schist. 7 Hornblende Sandstone.

war. I understand that they are not always found in the sites of the stone phase; it is just possible that they are the "mallet weapons" of the ancient classics.* No. 7, fig. 12 is by no means common. The shallow depressions on the surface are interesting and will be referred to later on. Whether it is to be regarded as a hammer, as a bolas, or had some other function, is not clear. It would appear that some of the stone staves or clubs to be presently referred to, were used in war, similar stones have been employed as weapons by modern savages, and stone weighted clubs are still to be had from the Ainu, in present or recent, use.

Natural stones which have been used as hammers are of very frequent occurrence. Nos. 4, 5, and 6, fig. 11, also 4 and 5, fig. 13, belong to this category. Some of these stones may have been employed in moulding pottery. One, however, cannot mistake the stone hammer; after use the bruised ends tell the the story of its function. Natural stones are still sometimes used for cracking shellfish and nuts in other places besides Japan and handy implements they are. In Africa too, natural stones are sometimes preferred by native smiths for the finer hammerwork in iron. Some of these stones may have been sling stones, or may have been tied in skin to serve as hand missles (bolas). No. 7 was a rubbing or smoothing stone and No. 8, of the same figure was used for bruising food. This is shown by the battered ends and central surface, but its use as a pestle in the primitive mortar or quern, is attested to by the polished convex surfaces.

In figs. 13, 14 and 15, examples are given of roughly made implements, of which one cannot always aver a specific function, They were probably variously utilised as chisels, picks, scrapers of skins, wedges for splitting wood, and perhaps as agricultural tools. The fact that these have been mistaken for "paleolithic" tools proves that this term is not appropriate as a classifier of

* Aston, in his translation of the Nihongi, vol. 1, p. 78, illustrates them in this connection.

Fig. 13.

Roughly finished Implements and natural (hammer) stones.
(¼ size.)

technnique. In my excavations, I have found rather more rudely shaped implements in the deeper layers of the shell-heaps, where one may suppose that the culture is earlier than in the more superficial layers, but in the very lowest layers have met with highly polished and finished implements. Even simple splits and flakes had their uses, No. 6, fig. 13, being a fairly good knife. Nos. 1, 2 and 3, fig. 12, may be regarded as chisels scrapers or picks, and those of fig 14, as chisels, wedges or adzes. Similar implements are illustrated in Evans' work,* and the learned auther remarks, "it is by no means improbable that some of these ruder unpolished implements were employed in agriculture, like the so-called shovels and hoes of flint of North America, described by Professor Rau." Some of these Japanese stones give a clear, metallic note when struck and might possibly have been used as sounding stones, so well known in ancient China. It is barely possible that these were the ancestors of the *kyoshigi*, or wooden clappers of the Japanese. No. 3 of the lithographic plate, (Appendix 2) might have served as an adze or hoe, but would be, rather difficult to haft. It was perhaps a wedge for splitting wood.

The "*fundo* shaped" or as we may call them, "fiddle shaped" stones, (fig. 15), which are frequently found in the primitive sites, are a puzzle to archeologists. They are all roughly shaped, but have a specific form which betokens a definite purpose. Transitional forms are not uncommon, but not so frequent as those illustrated in fig. 15. At a first glance one might suppose that they were fishing weights, attached by the narrow waist to the net. The waist is usually distinctly worn by friction, and has surely been attached to something. Many of these stones are, however, by no means ideal fishing weights. They have too much surface in proportion to body; a few are not more that 5 m.m. in thickness. The stone is

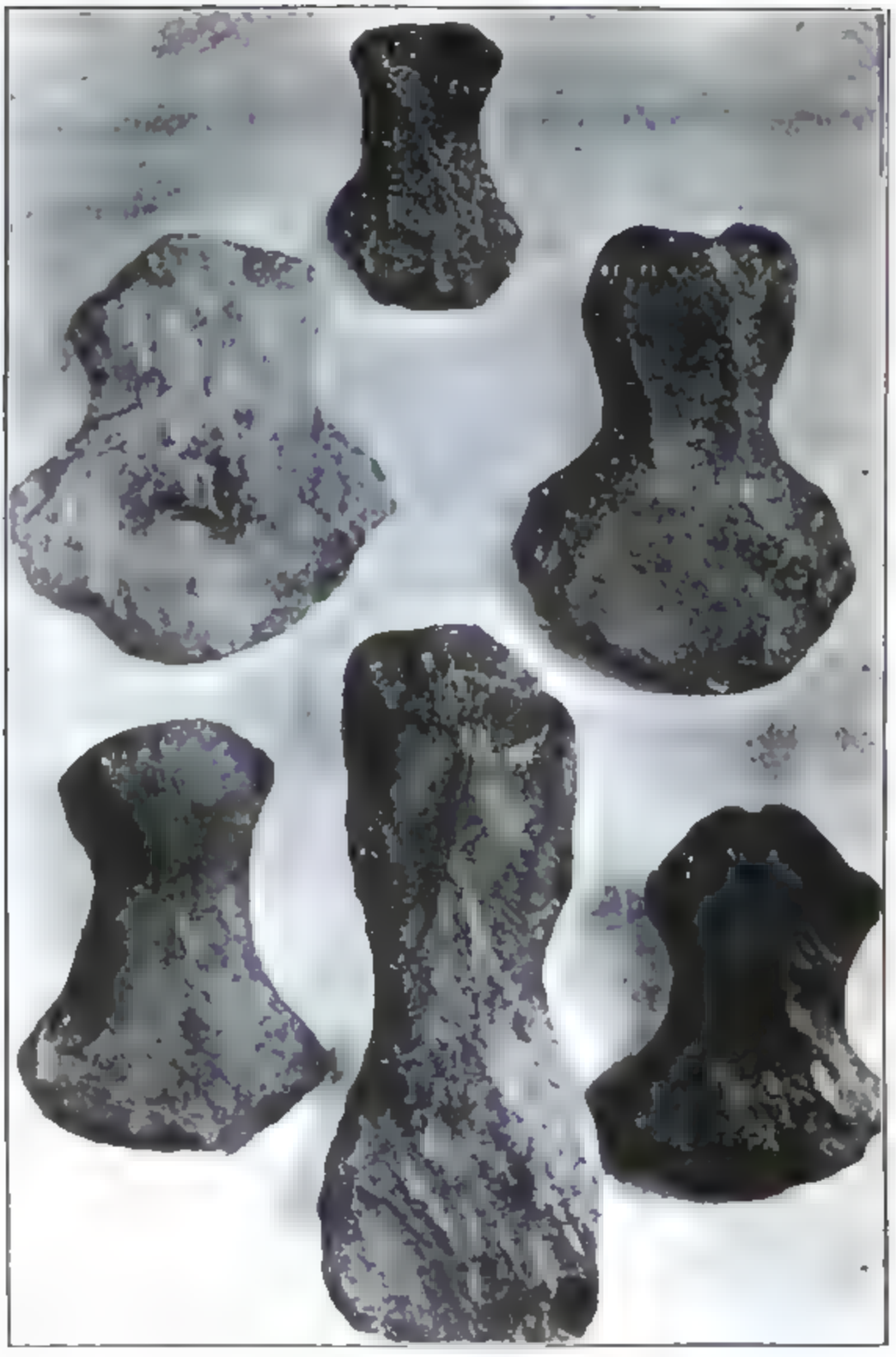
* "Stone Implements of Great Britain," pp. 76. 94, 95, 96, 175, 256 and 308.

† The *fundo* was a government weight of definite form. An illustration is given in "The Coins of Japan," p. 191., by the present writer.

Fig. 14.

Roughly finished Implements.
(⅓ size.)

Fig. 15.



Fiddle shaped Implements of roughly hewn stone.
(⅓ size.)
Clay Slate (This approaches sandstone in character, M. Fujimori).

usually dressed mainly on one side, the edges of the other side being trimmed into shape. The cutting edge sometimes shows signs of wear. These considerations indnce the belief that this implement was designed for cutting, hacking or hoeing, and that it was secured to the haft by some kind of cord, thong or tendril. It was probably not adjusted with its surface parallel to the axis of the handle. It might have been affixed by the waist after the fashion of a hatchet or tomahawk: in this case the edge would probably be trimmed equally on both sides. Possibly, however, this inequality was due to technical difficulties. It seems to me more likely that the implement was tied by the waist with its surface at right angles to the shaft, after the manner of an adze or hoe.* The present hoe of the Japanese is adjusted in this manner, except that the blade is fixed by one extremity to the shaft. It has been suggested to me that this implement might have been fastened to a bent withe or split cane and used for chipping wood, as in hollowing out a canoe, by swinging it against the piece in question. Few, however, of these stones could be effectively used in this manner. The natives of Formosa are said to have used some such implement in agriculture.

I am inclined to the opinion that these implements were used in hoe cultivation, perhaps for digging roots and clearing the ground. The records of the Sui (Japanese Zui) dynasty dating about the 7th century A. D., state that implements of stone were used for agriculture by the inhabitants of the Luchus. Their primitive culture was closely akin to that which we are considering. It is on record that in the 10th century ("Engishiki," 929 A.D.) the captive Ainu were given food because they would not cultivate land nor pay taxes. It is probable, however, that some of them were cultivators of the soil, for it is elsewhere stated that they acquired the title of *Den-i*, meaning "field barbarian." On the sites for the stone

* An implement of this type is illustrated on plate 53 of the 15th report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the United States.

phase the finds of pottery etc. are grouped around certain areas with blank spaces between, as if residential spots were separated by stretches of cultivated soil. There is yet no positive evidence of agriculture. No millet, barley, buckwheat nor rice has been found in the sites, but vegetal matter of any kind is so excessiveiy rare that this negative evidence counts for little.

It is not unlikely that the *inao* of the Ainu, like the Japanese *Inari*, was originally a cereal good. The New Year decoration of rural districts in Japan, consisting of five sticks attached to bamboo, represent the varieties of millet known as *awa* and *hie*. These sticks were, till quite recently, whittled after the fashion of the *inao*. They are sometimes still shaved in this manner.

The clusters of *inao*, called *nusa*, are significantly set up by the Ainu in the springtime, though also an other occasions. It appears to me that *nusa* is not a simple plural, but may express abundance, (*nu-ush*, "abundant"). Batchelor tells us that the Ainu divide millet into two classes, male and female, which, in this association are called "the divine husband and wife cereal; *so say the ancients*.† Therefore, before millet is pounded and made into cakes for general eating, the old men have a few made for themselves, first to worship." He goes on to say:—"Such communion as this is of the very essence of religion, and will appear again more clearly when we come to discuss the subject of bear worship." The marriage of plants and communion with the corn god, long antedates the Christian era.‡ It is barely possible that the Ainu derived the notion from the Yamato, but, knowing as we do the intense conservatism that shields the myths and legendary ritual of conquered peoples, it is not probable. It is certain that some of the

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* As regards its material, the *inao* is a stick whittled in such a way that the shavings are left attached at one end so as to form a bunch, sometimes several bunches on one stick, the whole bearing some resemblance to a cereal.

† The Ainu and their Folk lore" p. 204. The italics are mine.

‡ "Lectures on the Early History of the kingships" by S. G. Frazar, D.C.L., LL.D. p. 160.

§ "The Golden Brough," by the same author p.

Fig. 16. Quern and milling stones. (about ¼ size.)

folklore of modern Japan has floated upward from the submerged primitive population.

We may take it then that this ritual is very ancient and that the Ainu had some knowledge of agriculture for many centuries. We cannot say positively that this antedated the Yamato invasion, but that the worship of the primitive cereal is a residuum of a primitive agriculture, is wholly probable. It is far from unlikely that before the coming of the Yamato, some degree of hoe cultivation was included in the repertoire of the primitive life.

Fig. 16 is a photograph of a primitive mill. It is made of lava; the same material is used for this purpose at the present day. One would imagine that it would not stand much wear and tear, but though soft when freshly cut, it hardens with exposure to the air. I have seen mill stones set before the shrines of the cereal god (*Inari*) in rural districts. Along with the mortar, two pestles or rubbing stones are illustrated. A similar stone has already been exhibited, fig. 11; it shows signs of both chapping and rubbing.

These querns or mills are of various designs. One seen in fig. 17, is usually called *Ishi-usu*, or stone plate in Japanese, but its function was milling.

Fig. 17.

Mortar or Mill.
(¼ size.)

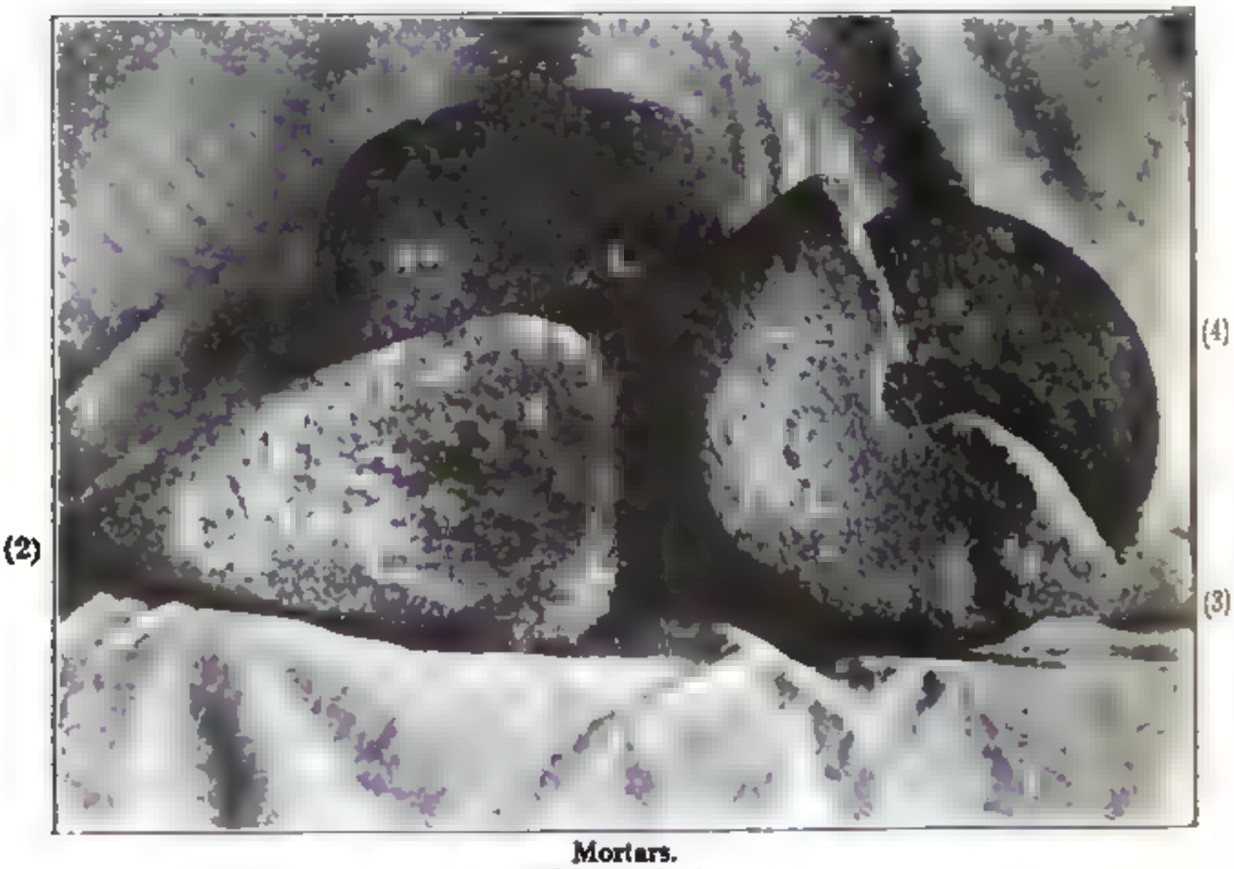
Fig. 18.

A Mortar or Mill.
(about ¼ size.)

A specimen much resembling this is illustrated in the 22nd annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* A round and rather deep mortar shown in the work of Evans,† previously alluded to, is almost identical in shape with one from my excavations, fig. 18.

Some of these primitive mills are natural stones, some of which have apparently been hollowed out merely by use. Nos. 1 and 2 of fig. 18, are slightly hollowed out; No. 3 is a broken quern with a circular perforation in the centre to permit the ground food material, (nuts, roots or grain,) to deposit on a mat or other receptacle below it; No. 4, placed behind the latter in the picture, is a round flat stone of apparently natural form, showing evidence of use as an under stone for bruising food, or possibly breaking shellfish.

Fig. 19.



Mortars.
(about ¼ size.)

* p. 194.
† p. 450.

The objects formerly known to Japanese collectors as "*Tengu no meshigai*," or rice spoons of the Tengu,* fig. 20, were pocket or domestic knives. The knob with which they are often provided, served to attach a piece or cord, thong, or handle.† Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, are typical examples of the "spoon" shape. No. 9 resembles an almond shaped paleolith. Those from the north of Japan are usually made of a silicious material resembling flint, (pyroxene?) sometimes of chert, rarely of flint proper and naturally very rarely of agate. One of the latter is seen in fig. 21, No. 4. This silicate resembles flint in many respects and like it becomes changed in colour with exposure, so that the implements made of it may be pale green, yellowish or nearly white on the surface, while the body is dark. It is, however, more brittle than flint. Some are made of jasper. The "spoon" form is rarely found in the Kwanto, but I have removed three from my excavations, of which two are seen in Nos. 3 and 12 of this figure. The material of these is argillite. Nos. 5, 10 and 14, fig. 21, are also pocket tools, the last being curved like the polished knife forms previously mentioned. It is difficult to say whether No. 12 of the same figure is a knife or an arrowhead, but is probably the latter. A small cutter of bone is seen in fig. 26, No. 5.

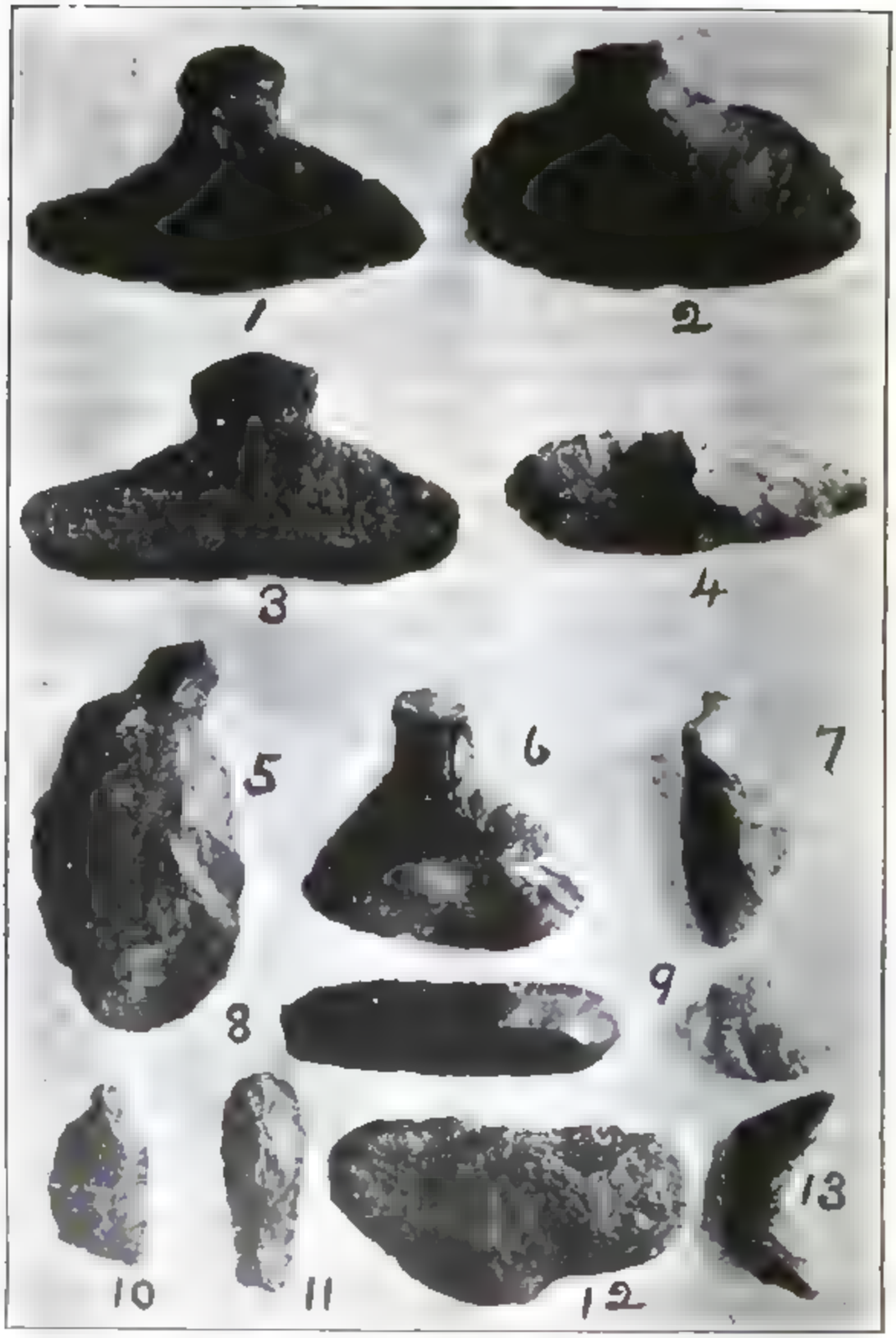
Tools for boring were much used. No. 7, of fig. 21, appears to be one of these. Nos. 1 and 2, also look like awls, though they might possibly have been arrowheads. For use as drills, such stones were affixed to a handle of wood or bone, which could be rotated between the palms of the hands, after the fashion of the Japanese awl. This makes an effective drill and is probably of very ancient origin.‡ It seems likely, as

* *Tengu*, Goblins of the woods and mountains. See "Things Japanese" by Professor Chamberlain, p. 437.

† Implements approximately resembling these are exhibited in Evans' work, p.p. 303 et seq.

‡ The keeper of "Sally," the chimpanzee (now deceased) at the London zoological gardens, exhibited a hole drilled through the wooden upright, which, he informed me, had been accomplished by that sagacious anthropoid, by means of a piece of stout wire.

Fig. 20.



Knife Implements etc. of Stone. (½ size). Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6. 7, 8, 10, 11, and 13, Volcanic silicate like flint in appear ance and obsidian in consistence. 3 and 12 Argillaceous Sandstone. 9 White Hornblende.

Fig. 21.

Stone Implements and weapons. (¼ size). No. 15, lent by Mr. Allen Owsten, is Obsidian. So is No. 12. No. 3 is probably white hornblende. The rest with the exception of 4 (Agate), are made of a Volcanic Silicate resembling flint.

Mr. Hough * points out, that this tool preceded the fire drill, the heat generated by friction leading up to the idea of fire raising. It is reasonable to suppose that this awl was also semetimes weighted and improved, by the addition of the thong and bow.

Stone arrowheads are found in small numbers in the sites of the Kwanto and further west, but become increasingly frequent as one proceeds north. The variety, both of form and material is considerable. The likeness to those of Europe and America is even more striking than in the case of the celts. In fig. 22, a series of forms is given, showing transition from the leaf-shaped to the barbed type. Nos. 1 and 2 are very roughly made, are in fact simple flakes and along with 3, which is by no means highly finished, were taken from my excavations. They were found in the same shellheaps as Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 12 and 15. No. 1 was found in the lower layer at Mitsusawa, but Nos. 2 and 3 were taken from the later layers. Nos. 4 and 12 (well finished) were also obtained from the deeper layer of one of these heaps, so that the occurrence does not indicate more than survival of rough forms, or perhaps a careless or accidentally incompleted product. No. 4 is interesting on account of the rounded base. Evans has drawn attention to the existence of this type in England. Like the specimen given in his work,† the base is also trimmed to a sharp edge. In my specimen, the lower portion, which was probably inserted in a cleft stick, or bamboo, is discoloured as if by contact with pitch, or some other fixing agent. From Nos. 6 to 13, various degrees of the barb are seen. Two interesting specimens of the same style are also given in fig. 21, Nos. 8 and 9. No. 12 of this latter figure may be a leaf form of arrowhead, while No. 13 shows a roughly finished but heavy and effective point. The illustrations of this figure are in half size, but those of figs. 22 and 23, give the actual dimensions.

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* "Origin of inventions" p. 55, by Otis. T. Mason.

† Op. cit. p. 395.

Fig. 22.

Arrowheads of leaf and barbed form (natural size). Nos. 1, 4, 9, 12 and 13, (Obsidian). 2 and 3 (Hornstone). 5 Jasper. 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11, Volcanic Silicate.

Varieties of the leaf form, passing into those provided with a tang, are seen in fig. 23. The leaf form is very common, especially in the north, and probably proved as effective as any other, while involving less labour. No. 4 is an interesting shape, met with both in England and America. No. 6 is here placed among the arrowheads, but may have been a drill. No. 13, which might be equally described as having a unilateral tang or a single barb, is of peculiar form, and its interest lies in the fact that this shape occurs both in England and America. It is illustrated in plate 41 of the 15th annual report previously referred to, and a sililar type at pages 393-4 of Evans' work, (Nos. 11, 12 and 13, Fig. 24). The remaining numbers of fig. 22, do not call for any special remark. Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 21 have some slight interest from the material of which they are made, viz. agate and quartz. No. 3, of fig. 21, is of quartz or white hornblande. The combination of tang and barb is foreshadowed in several of these arrowheads and is specially notable in No. 24.

I have copied in outline (fig. 24) the forms of certain arrowheads, some of which are noteworthy because they present distinct peculiarities of type which are common to Japan, America, and Europe, others because they are, so far as I know, found only in Japan, and others again for the reason that they exist only in Europe.

I have just referred to the specimen given in No. 13, fig. 22, and an outline ofter Evans, is seen in No. 11, fig. 23. No. 12 copied from the same work exhibits a tang exaggerated on the one side out of all proportion to the other. A still more unique example from the same source (No. 13 of this figure) embodies the same idea.

No. 8 is a Japanese stone arrowhead, after Kanda's work,* and No. 9 is from Evans. Though these shapes are by no means the same, they involve the same idea; what Evans has called the "chisel-ended" type. This type was known in

* "Notes on Ancient Stone Implements of Japan." By Baron Kanda.

Fig. 23.

Leaf and Tanged Arrowheads.
(Actual size.)

With the exception of 2 (obsidian), 11 (flint) 14, 15. 16, 21 (agate), and 17 (quartz), these are composed of a volcanic silicate, closely resembling flint, but more brittle.

Fig. 24.

Outline forms of arrowheads. Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8 after Kanda. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 after Ono. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 after Evans.

primitive Egypt and occurs in Britain, France, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Portugal (Evans). This type, persisted in the iron arrowhead of Persia; amongst other evidence of contact between the Persian and Yamato cultures, the persistence of the iron chisel-shaped type is remarkable. Several specimens in my collection show variations of the iron chisel head. No. 7, fig. 24, after Kanda, is almost exactly identical with another form of the Yamato iron arrow-head, and may have either been evolved separately, or copied from the same. No. 2 is known also in the United States, though not, so far as I am aware, in England. This outline is from Mr. Ono's book of illustrations, from which also I have taken Nos. 3 and 4. Arrowheads not unlike Nos. 4 and 5 are found in America, but some difference is noticeable. Nos. 5, 6, and 1, are from Baron Kanda's collection, and the two latter forms at least, seem to be peculiar to Japan. No. 10, from Evans, of triangular form, with deep tang and broad rectangular barb is, so far as I know, not found in this country.

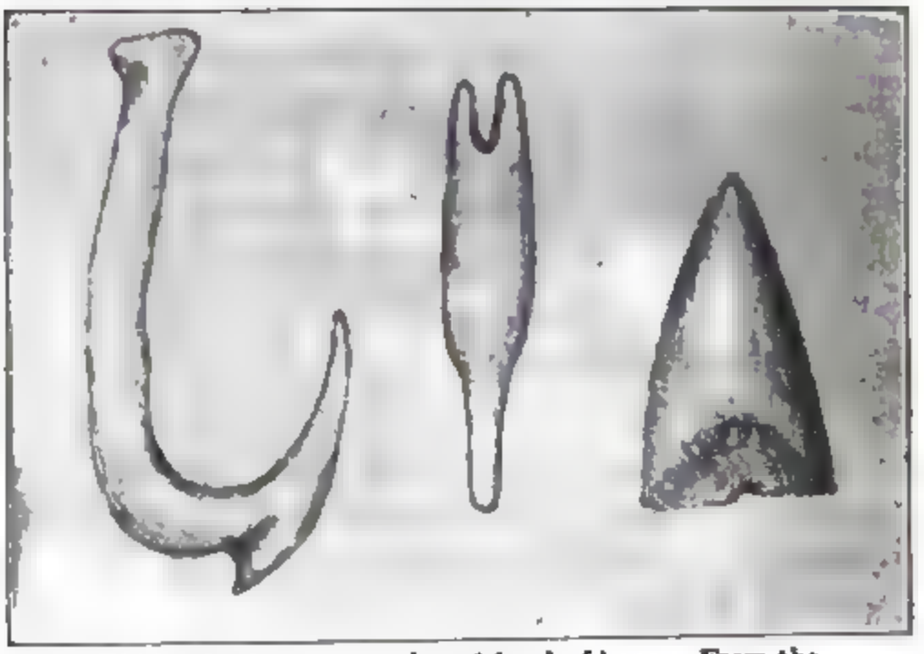
When I first saw the shape seen in No. 13, fig. 19, I was under the impression that it was a broken, highly barbed arrowhead, which had been utilised as a scraper for rounding or smoothing arrow shafts or some narrow wooden appliances. My belief now is that this is the regular shape of this object and that it was either made as a scraper, or that it is a complete arrowhead having a crescent edge. If the latter, it could have been affixed by its middle with thong or bark fibre. I incline to this opinion because in the few specimens which I have seen, there is no sign of wear in the concavity of the object. These crescent, or fork-shaped arrowheads are known in iron in the old world, and are quite common in Japan. Whether evolved from a type in stone, I dare not say. It would seem more likely that the primitive people of Japan copied the design from the iron one, thinking to do equal execution. The finding of this shape only in the northern half of the country makes this the more probable.

It is an open question whether some of the arrowheads

which occur especially in the north, were not intended as a form of currency. Their sometimes insignificant size and the refractory and scarce material of which they are made, combine to support this idea. It has been suggested that they might have been used in shooting birds, but as I have elsewhere stated, "it is scarcely credible that such superior stones so difficult to obtain and to fashion into arrowheads, could have been employed in shooting among shrubs and trees, where, they were very likely to get lost." Agate or other rare stone might, however, have had a superstitious efficacy attributed to it, like the superstition of the silver bullet, which still lingers in Europe.

Some arrowheads and arrow nocks of bone have been discovered and are given in "Illustrations of Prehistoric archæology" from which fig. 25, is taken. The arrowhead is perforated at the base. No. 13, fig. 26, resembles an arrowhead, though possibly part of a harpoon, or even a netting needle. No. 7 (fig. 26), of stag horn, was evidently the tip of a bow,

Fig. 25.



Fishing hook, arrow nock and head of bone. From the "Senshi Kōko Zufu," by Mr. Ono Nobutaro.

* No. 4, (Appendix II) might possibly have been copied from a bronze or iron model. No. 5 was probably a Javelin or spear, rather than an arrowhead.

and No. 9 of this figure may have been the same, though not certainly so.

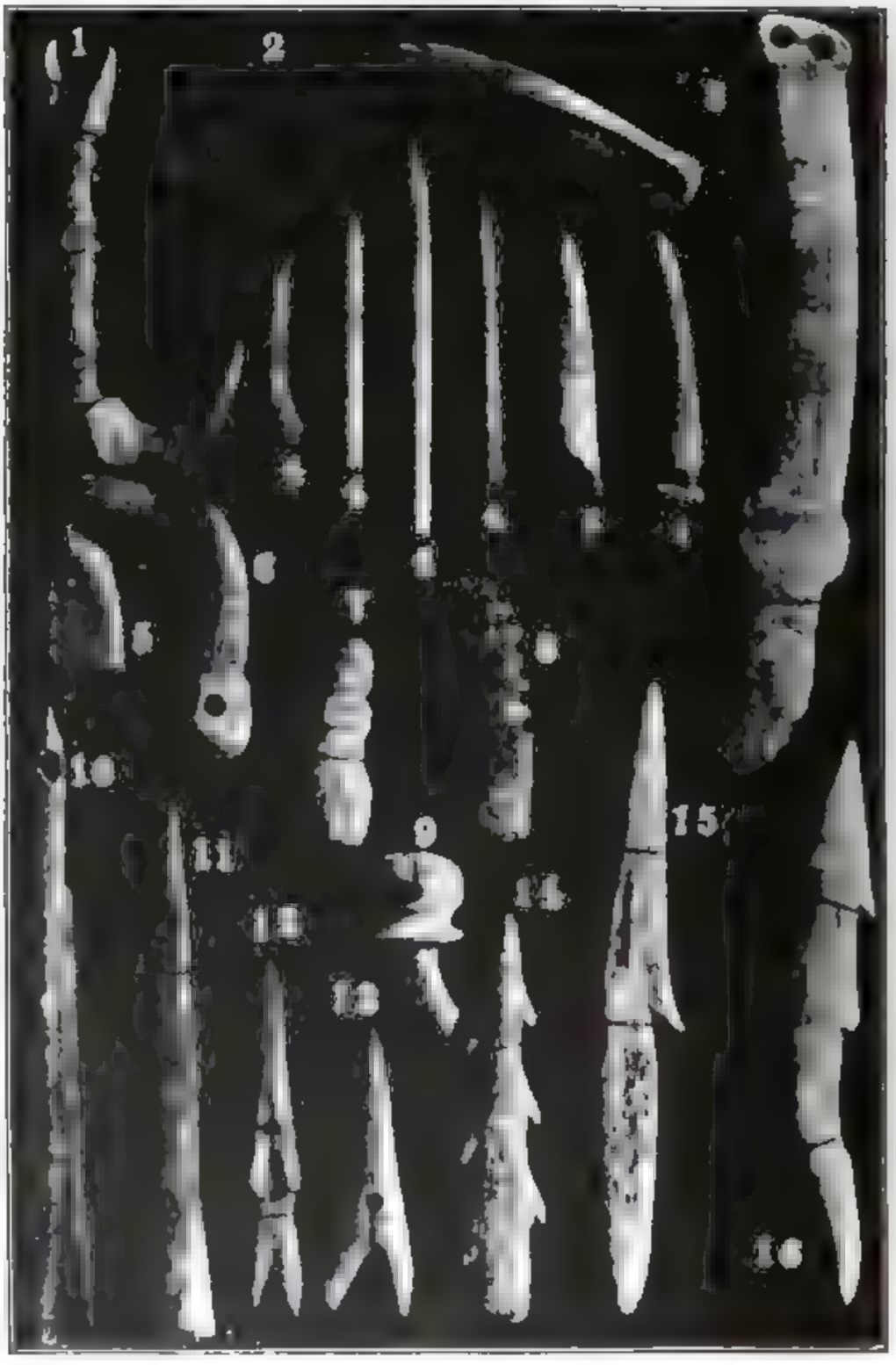
It may be well here to mention the primitive harpoon; heads of which, in horn, are seen at the bottom of fig. 26, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

Dismissing No. 13 as an arrowhead, Nos. 12, 14, 15 and 16 remain as examples of the harpoon head. Nos. 10 and 11 might have been part of this implement. There are modern specimens where the detachable head, No. 12, is fitted on to a pointed piece of bone like No. 10 or even No. 11, though the latter may be a bodkin. The depression for the reception of a bone spike in the head of No. 12, is well seen. Non-detachable harpoon heads, are represented by Nos. 14, 15 and 16; this type is very ancient. It is presented by Evans and Lubbock. It will be noticed that of the three given here, one only is single barbed. Mr. Yagi Sosaburo, in his interesting book,* describes the finding, in a shellmound, of a harpoon head imbedded in the head of a fish. Implements of bone are found in considerable members to the North of the Kwanto. Dr. Takashima has obtained many good specimens in Rikuzen.

Spear and javelin heads are not very common in the Kwanto, but in the north many are found. Nos. 6 and 11, of fig. 21, (half size), and all those (of like proportion), in fig. 27, come under these headings and may be called collectively, spearheads, as the distinction is not easy to make between the large arrowhead and small javelin or spear head. In this figure, all the pieces are represented by different material, thus No. 1 is of flint, 2 is of silicious schist 3 of chichibu chlorite schist, 4 of agate, 5 of obsidian and 6 of chert or volcanic flint. No. 5 is of elaborate finish and in this respect resembles No. 15 of fig. 21, kindly loaned to me by Mr. Owston, the function of which is not apparent. It may be that some of the specimens found so frequently in the Kwanto and called chisels, or scrapers (fig. 13), were used as spearheads.

* "Nihon Kōkagaku" (Japanese Archeology).

Fig 26



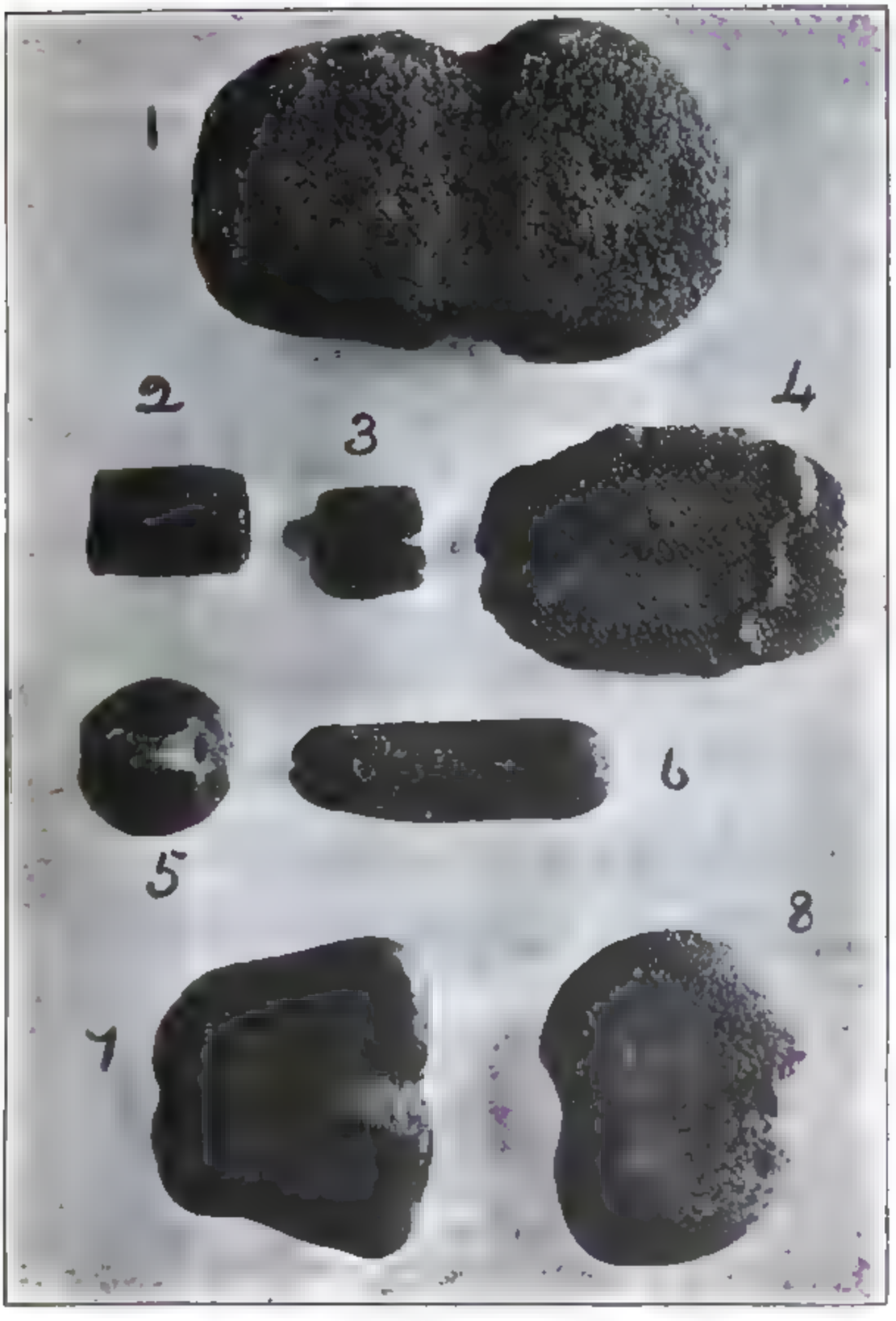
Implements and weapons of bone and horn ½ size.
(Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, from collection of Dr. Takashima).

Fig 27.

Spear and Javelin heads. 1. (Flint) 2. (Siliceous schist). 3 (Chichibu chlorite Schist). 4. (Agate) 5. (Obsidian) 6. (Volcanic Silicate resembling Flint). (½ size).

The devices for fishing hunting, and otherwise capturing animal food, were, we may presume, many and various in the Japanese primitive culture. Traps, gins and other artifices (such as the poisoning of fishing waters, or bait) which had accumulated through the experience of thousands of generations, were without doubt included in the primitive armamentarium, but have disappeared from the sites. The Ainu employ poisoned arrows in hunting; it is not stated in history that they used them against the Yamato invaders. Nets were used in fishing. The net design is frequently met with on the pottery. The upper edges of the nets were sustained by floats possibly of bamboo, or skins filled with air. What is supposed to be the nozzle of a floating bag is illustrated in Mr. Ono's book. Such skin floats would be more appropriately attached to a harpoon in order to exhaust large fish, or water mammals. Fig. 25, shows a fishing hook of bone. Fig. 28 depicts a series of fishing weights. No. 8 is carefully grooved on either side to prevent slipping of the cord by which it was attached to the net. In No. 7, both edges have been nicked by a single blow. Two narrow grooves are incised in No. 6. Broken pieces of pottery treated in this fashion are very common, Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are examples. No. 2 is a tube of pottery almost exactly like those used at the present day for fishing weights. This I removed from the Negishi site. It is somewhat coarser than the modern one and is much softer. At the same, and other sites, I have obtained narrow spindle shaped, or roughly cylinder-shaped, perforated pieces of pottery, No. 1, fig. 80. These might have been fishing weights, but I have placed them among the ornaments. No. 1, fig. 28, is interesting. It is used in Japan at the present day, though occasionally occurring in the shell-heaps. It is a curious coincidence that the same kind of sinker has survived in Britain from neolithic times. This stone is sometimes described as a hammer, but those that I have seen have been made of rather friable lava and would not stand much concussion. They might however, have been utilised for giving

Fig. 28.



Net sinkers of Stone and Potsherds.
(½ size).

weight to war clubs. The Ainu weighted their clubs with stone, till quite recently. Stone implements resembling these, but used as hammers, are reported from America. I have more than once seen these objects placed on tombstones, in fishing localities.

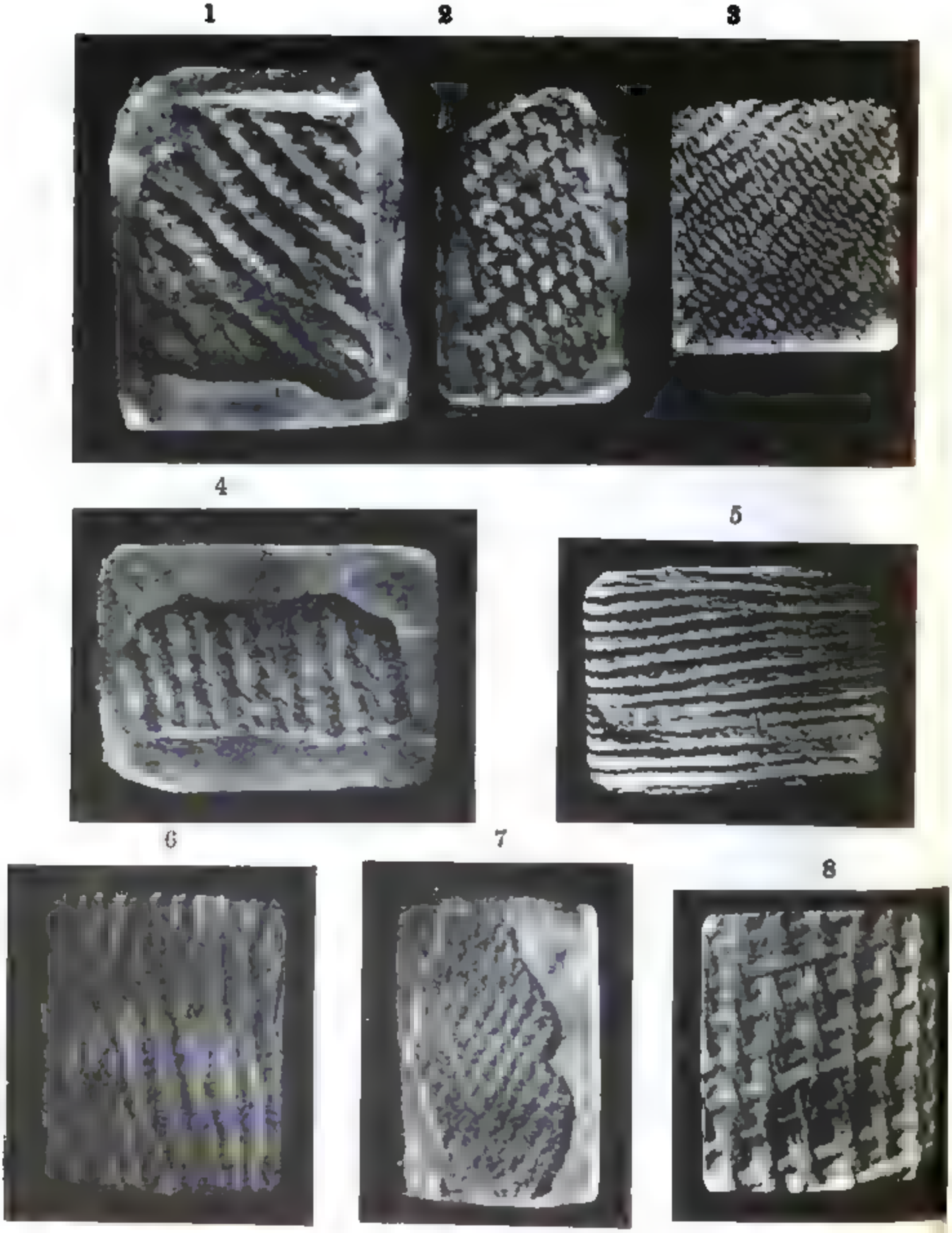
It is safe to affirm that boats were used by the primitive people. The presence of neolithic remains on the islands of Ōshima (Vries island) and Sado, proves that their boats were sufficiently large to traverse fifty miles of open sea. The Ainu have a tradition that the *Koropok-guru* had boats hollowed out of logs and also constructed of a wooden framework covered with grass. The specific mention of textile material for covering the boats, may possibly be reminiscent of a southern culture, like the poisoned bamboo arrows and the planting of fetich skulls around their dwellings.

No. 1, fig. 29, might have been the head of a knobkerry; more probable is the assumption that it was intended to give impetus to the primitive spindle, or perhaps, drill. There can be no question that the primitive population of Japan spun and wove. This aspect of their culture, though unwritten, is not unrecorded, for the earliest attempts at pottery making with which one is acquainted, in Japan, bear the impression in reverse of textile fabrics. Following the plan initiated, I believe, by W. H. Holmes, whose contributions to American Ethnology are widely known, I have taken some impressions on potters' clay, from the textile patterns on the ware of the Japanese stone phase. Fig. 30, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are plainly woven fabrics of some coarsely spun material, surely the fibres of some plant. Perhaps No. 8, fig. 26, was a comb for separating fibres. The Ainu, though now less commonly, make their cloth from the bast fibres of the elm tree, and Batchelor says that the name of their cloth garment, *attush*, means simply "elm fibre." Chamberlain, in the critical introduction to his translation of the Kojiki, decides, from etymological evidence, that "hempen cloth and paper mulberry bark" were used by the early Japanese (Yamato culture). The above three

Fig. 29.

Stones with Perforations and Depressions. 1, 2 and 3, Trachyte.
4 Hornblend Sandstone.
(⅓ size).

Fig. 30.



specimens of homespun, though not of gossamer delicacy, were doubtless much appreciated in their day. The twisted strands in fig. 30, No. 4, are evidently either part of, or have been fixed to, some fabric. Applied simply as cords to the wet clay, it would have been impossible to preserve their parallel regularity. The two following (Fig. Nos. 30, 5 and 6) show twisting of the fibre, but otherwise present the appearance of having been moulded by beating the surface while wet, as is done by the Polynesians in the making of bast felt, or cloth. Though no indication of colouring is left, there is little doubt that some dye was used,* either a vegetable stain, or iron (alone, or as a tannate). We may also suppose that the matting or basket work was also varied by colouring agents. Some of this work was carefully executed. It varies from fine specimens like fig. 30, No. 7, to that composed of strips nearly half an inch wide. In fig. 30, No. 8, we note that the matting upon which the clay vessel had rested, or been pressed, was somewhat coarse.

The art of sewing was also practised, notwithstanding a statement to the contrary by a commentator on the "Shan Hai Ching" in the 4th. century, that the Japanese had no needles.† Several bodkins are shown in fig. 26, and perforated needles are not unknown in the sites, though from their fragility, they are rare.

The smaller of the two perforated stones in fig. 29, was probably too light to be of service as a weight to a firedrill, but may have been used to give impetus to a small spindle. The function of the two slightly hollowed stones in the figure, is not clearly understood; the smaller might have acted as the counter resistance to a fire or other drill.

In later times the Ainu borrowed the steel and flint method

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* We can scarcely be wrong in assuming that colour for personal adornment (skin and clothing) preceded its application to pottery.

† Chamberlain's Introduction to his Kojiki translation p. XXX.

of producing fire from the Japanese, and one may suppose that this was preceded by striking pyrites with or without flint. There is little evidence of this however, in the older shellheaps, and it is most probable that the mode of fire production by friction was that commonly employed. At Izumo, the sacred fire of the Japanese ancestral cult is still produced by drilling holes in a piece of soft wood. According to the Rig veda, Agni, the god of fire "is deposited in the two pieces of wood." .....He is produced from them like a new born infant." Again, "the son, no sooner born, devours his parents."* Have we not a parallel instance recorded in the Kojiki? Izanami "through giving birth to the deity of fire, at length divinely retired." † Or, as one passage of the Nihongi has it:—"When Izanami no Mikoto gave birth to Ho no-musubi ("fire-growth"), she was burnt by the child and died."‡ One might take the ritualistic survival of the production of fire by friction, as an evidence of the low condition of the Yamato culture on arrival in this country, were it not for the notorious conservatism of this practice as a religious rite.

There is no evidence as to whether fire was produced by the very primitive plan of rubbing a hard stick against a soft one so as to form a groove (the "fire plough.") Probably twirling a vertical stick between the hands to produce friction between it and a horizontal piece, preceded the use of the bow drill in this country. In fig. 26, No. 2, what appears to be the bow of a fire drill is seen. It so exactly resembles this part of the apparatus used as a drill by the Eskimo§ and other

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* "Vedic India," by Z. A. Ragozin. P. 158

† Profestor Chamberlain's translation; Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 10, Supplement, p. 30.

‡ Mr. Aston's translation, Transactions of the Japan Society, Supplement 1., Vol. 1. p. 21.

§ Annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the United States, 1884-5. p. 525.

primitive people, that this assumption is justified.* No. 4, fig. 26, was apparently not a fire drill bow. Possibly it was a flaking tool, or even a quiver handle.

Certain depressions of doubtful purpose are found in stones all over the world, and are specially numerous in Japan, fig. 78. I shall defer the consideration of these till we come to the subject of religion, but may remark that some of them might possibly have been produced by the employment of stone as a counter resistance to a fire or other drill.

The evidence of the use of fire is abundant in the primitive sites. Every shellheap contains not only ashes, but charcoal, some of which may have been prepared for use. Five times have I come upon a primitive hearth, where the social circle had gathered to enjoy light and warmth at night, or where food was prepared by day. It was fire that made food soft and palatable, the cooking vessels hard and tough. No wonder that most primitive people have given divine honours to the "friend of man" (Rig Veda).

First among the matters relating to the primitive diet, is the question as to the existence of anthropophagy. Mr. Batchelor tells us that the Ainu have a tradition that their forefathers were cannibals. This is the legend: "The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to kill and devour their own relations also. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh,† &c."

In his examination of the Ōmori shellheap, Professor Morse found human bones which "were *all fractured in a similar manner*,‡ either with the object of extracting the mar-

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* In the Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, Jan. 1902 Mr. Torii Ryuzo states that while the use the of the hand drill for fire making survives among the Ainu of Yezo (Hokkaido), those inhabiting the Kurile Islands use the bow drill between two boards, one of which is drilled, while the other furnishes counter resistance.

† "The Ainu and their Folk Lore," p. 2.

‡ The italics are mine.

row, or for convenience of cooking in vessels of too small dimensions to admit them at full length. When discovered they were entirely unrelated to each other.....The bones were mixed indiscriminately with other remains of feasts. Some of them are strongly marked with scratches and cuts, especially in those areas of muscular attachment where the muscles are separated from the bones with difficulty. The very mode of fracture in some cases is conspicuously artificial, and the surfaces for the attachment of muscles are strongly incised.....A recent examination of shellmounds in the southern portion of the Empire has disclosed the most abundant and unquestionable evidences of cannibalism."*

I have not specially examined the specimens in question, but have found detached and fragmentary human bones, throughout the shellheaps, intermixed with the osseous remains of animals which had been broken and cooked for food. This coincidence is decidedly ominous. On some of these bones I have observed marks of scratching and cutting along the lines of muscular attachment. It is therefore difficult to resist the conclusion that the primitive people had not outgrown the practice of anthropophagy.

It is important, however, to distinguish between cannibalism and that occasional indulgence in anthropophagy as a ritualistic observance, which has been observed to linger on into advanced barbarism and to be perpetuated in a symbolical form in the highest civilisations. In the first place we have to consider whether the primitive people of Japan were addicted to cannibalism as a means of subsistence, and secondly, whether the evidence of the sites indicates an occasional, rather than a general, custom, associated perhaps with religious rites.

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* "Shellmounds of Ōmori," p.p. 17 and 19.

If the latter be, as it must, regarded as a survival from the former practice,* we have the same right to infer its existence in the remote past that is claimed in Europe, where the residua of this custom have not yet vanished. At present, however, we are considering the evidence of the sites relative to cannibalism existent at the time of their formation. Professor Morse observes with regard to a large shellmound in Higo (in Kyushu), that "of forty fragments found, more than half were those of man." † Now, this seems a convincing proof that cannibalism was rampant at the time of these deposits. Yet if we ask why it is that only forty bones were recovered from a shellheap which is described as of "immense size," we can only answer that either the shellmound was not entirely explored, or that "more than half" of this number, (say 25 fragments), represents a very small proportion of human bones, and does not by any means indicate an extensive practice of cannibalism. For all that we know, this might have been a local deposit, such as I have found in other shellmounds; if not, it indicates rather a restricted than a prevalent habit.

Nor can I agree with the verdict that the evidence in favour of cannibalism is "most abundant," with regard to the Ōmori site. From this very extensive shellmound, only 16 fragments of long bones were mentioned, by professor Morse, and it appears that the greater portion of its contents was examined. I have not had an opportunity of counting the bones, fragmentary and otherwise, collected from various sites by the University, but I have seen them, and they strike one as being insignificant in proportion to the number of places which have been explored by that institution.

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* That even general cannibalism is compatible with an advanced culture, including expertness in agriculture, metal working, weaving, pottery making and "real artistic taste," with "regard and devotion to their women and children," has been clearly demonstrated. (Man, Past and Present" by A. H. Keane, p. 79.

† Op. cit, p. 21.

The habit of killing the aged and infirm, and of throwing the remains on the middings to be devoured by dogs and other animals, has been widespread throughout all primitive culture. It is mentioned in the Rig Veda * and traces of it are to be found, not only in ancient Greek literature, but also in the folk lore persisting in modern Europe. † Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) says the Eskimo, (who have been acquitted of the charge of cannibalism) "leave the human bones lying about near the huts, among those of animals which have served as food." ‡ Even at the present day in China, dead bodies are occasionally left exposed to the appetite of ravenous dogs. The Ainu accuse foxes of eating the dead.§

Thus, we are entitled to hold that anthropophagy has not been demonstrated to have existed on the "most abundant" scale. When we come to examine the bones themselves, we find evidence indeed that Professor Morse was justified in attributing anthropophagy to the people of the shellmounds; but this evidence shrinks to meagre proportions, and does not justify a verdict of general cannibalism.

I have prepared a tabulated statement || with regard to the bones removed from my excavations. Professor Morse states that the lesions were especially marked in the areas of muscular attachment and that the mode of fracture was "conspicuously artificial." In the accompanying list, I have given only long bones proper, excluding also the fibula, on account of its disposition to fracture through pressure; the ribs, for the same reason, and the lesser bones. In these, however, I found little evidence of external injury. They may, therefore,

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* Macdonell's "Sanskrit Literature," p. 163,

† Gomme's "Ethnology in Folk Lore" p.p. 134-5.

‡ Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times." 512. Also "Origin of Civilisation" p. 382, for same practice amongst the Fijian's.

§ In the interior of Japan, the graves are sometimes protected by a special fence, against the ravages of animals.

|| See Appendix III.

be dismissed with the remark that my examination was conducted with the object of satisfying myself of the actual state of these injuries and with no bias against the theory of anthropophagy.

The table shows that the evidence of violence at the site of fracture is uncertain, that injuries to surfaces of muscular attachment occur in a few only of the 35 bones, while appearances suggest (though on this point I am not certain) that some of the lesions were caused by animals. It shows further, that the sites of fracture* do not generally correspond to those of bones broken for the sake of the marrow, or for the pot. In a third of the total number there was no fracture into the medullary cavity, while in many of the remainder, the site of fracture is not a choice one for extraction of marrow; we may, therefore, conclude that the motive in this case has not been established. There is no indication in my collection that the bones were "all fractured in a similar manner." The positions indeed could scarcely be more diverse, and the manner is, for the most part, that in which bones fracture when long buried in the soil.† The fact, however, that some of them were found apart from their corresponding pieces, or as independent fragments, is fair presumtive proof that they were reduced to this condition by violence.‡ The nature of the injuries in those cases where the surface is cut or abraded, does not correspond to that which we have been led to expect in such circumstances. The cuts are not deep at the start and

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* A bone is liable to indirect fracture whether alive or dead and may break near its epiphysis when struck at the shaft.

† A limited experience of exhumation, in Scotland, Tunis and Japan, has convinced me that the bones in question are, with few exceptions, broken adventitiously. The osteological remains from the Yamato caves and sepulchres, exhibit fracture in the same places as do those of the shellmounds, but there is no question of anthropophagy, existing among the Yamato, at the time of these burials.

‡ Not necessarily by human agency.

Fig. 31.

Portion of Humerus, (slightly attenuated) showing various *post mortem* lesions of the bone. The appearance of cross section below is due to insufficient space on the negative.

shallower as the stone implement passed along the bone, or *vice versa*, except in one or two instances, where there is some doubt. In fig. 31, patches of scraping, apparently starting from a hack or cut, are seen.* On looking at these with a lens, however, each lesion appears to consist of a series of punctures and scratches, suggesting those made by the teeth of rodents, though I do not put this forward as an entirely satisfactory explanation. More exact information is needed before we ascribe all these injuries to the same agency.

There are some blunt lesions in the form of depressed lines, which may have been caused by the pressure of shells on the sodden and decayed bone, or they might conceivably have been produced by the canine teeth of animals slipping on the bone.

Excluding a few fragments

* This specimen is by far the most indicative of anthropophagy, among those in my possession, and therefore I have illustrated it. The lesions lie on the surface for the triceps attachment, but in other respects it is not characteristic

of crania, a frontal and two parietal bones, belonging to the same individual, I found only sixteen *detached* bones and fragments in five shellmounds, though these were not very extensive, and the largest has not yet been thoroughly explored. On the other hand, I obtained two skeleta, fairly complete, at the bottom of the largest shellheap, lying on what appears to have been the floor of a primitive dwelling. Two skulls were also found at the same level, along with a primitive mill, a rough and a polished axe, and a small sharpening stone. So far as my observations go, the lesions presented by the human bones of the shellheaps indicate anthropophagy, but to a much less degree than has hitherto been taught. The limited finds clearly betoken a limited indulgence in this practice.

The horror and disgust which cannibalism inspires in the minds of civilised peoples is a conventional outcome of ethical culture, which has been growing steadily throughout the world irrespective of the dogmas which have accompanied it. Some savages, however, still decline to believe that the alimentary canal of a friend is a worse tomb than the earth, where they "must be devoured by worms." Though we have outlived such ideas, the undercurrent of modern culture bears with it undoubted tokens that this practice was known throughout the world and represents a stage of social evolution among all peoples. It is a problem which wears an increasingly academic aspect the further it is removed from our own times. Much excavation will have to be carried out, especially in the north of Japan, before we can satisfy ourselves as to the extent of this practice, or whether it existed at all within the past two thousand years. I hope to show that the Yamato race, the main stock of the present Japanese, have been settled in this land for upwards of 2,500 years. The art of writing has been in existence for 1,500 years, and reliable history was written over 1,200 years ago. But there is no mention of cannibalism. Had it been prevalent

among the *Yezo* or "barbarians," at the time when the Kojiki and Nihongi, not to mention the provincial records, were written, some notice of it would surely have been preserved. We have, it is true, the tradition of the Ainu themselves, and there are indications in folk lore that it existed as a thing of the past. Such legends, nevertheless, are capable of surviving for periods which stretch back into the prehistoric; their antiquity can only be roughly gauged by their associations. We have no reason to believe that the practice of anthropophagy was continued by the primitive people after the Yamato occupation of the Kwanto provinces; if so, it was conducted in secret, as a lingering survival of ritual anthropophagy, which in turn had outlasted an indefinitely more remote custom of promiscuous cannibalism.

The three motives which have been mainly instrumental in the perpetuation of anthropophagy among the higher walks of the primitive life, namely, ancestor worship, sacrifice and communion, will be referred to under the head of Religion.

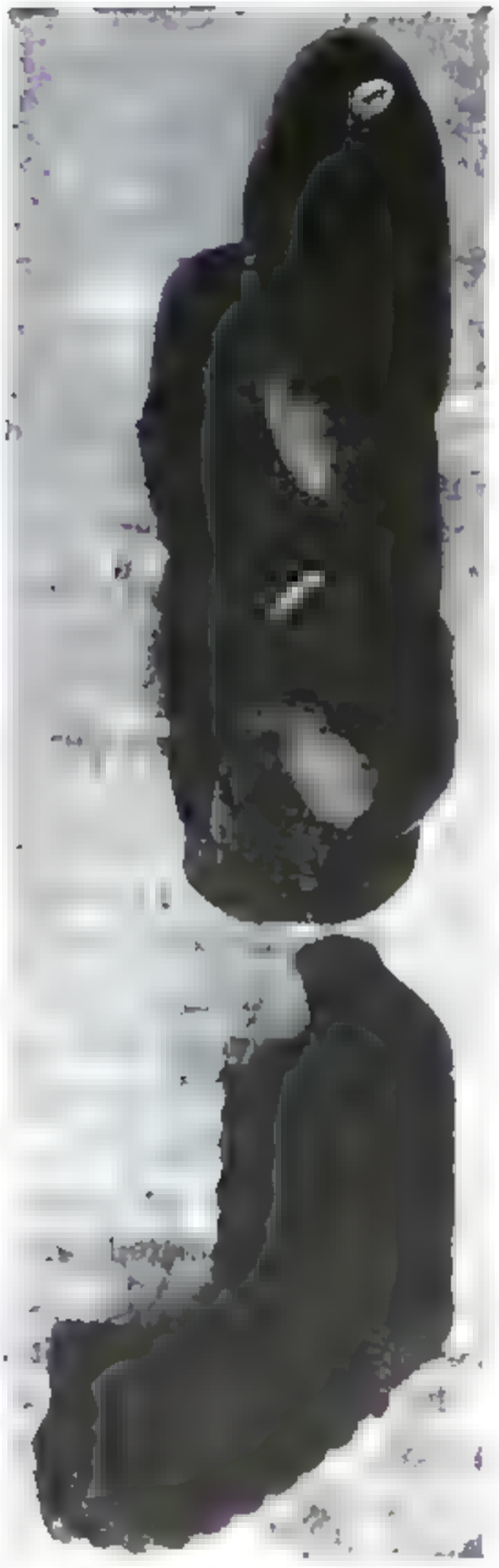
With regard to general diet, it may be remarked that not only were many kinds of shellfish consumed, as evidenced by the list already furnished, but that the bones of several varieties of fish have been found in the primitive middings. These are not very numerous, being liable to decay, though this article of diet must have been of some importance, if we may judge by the numbers of sinkers for nets which occur in all the shell-heaps. Of mammals, the remains of the boar and deer are by far the most frequent, but the bones of the whale, bear, monkey, fox, dog, badger, hare and squirrel have been recovered. With the exception of a walnut,* a chestnut and some chopped root, the two latter from my excavations at Mitsusawa, I do not know of any vegetal food remains from the primitive sites. As before stated, no kind of grain

* "Nihon Kōko-gaku," (Japanese Archeology), by Yagi Sosaburo.

has been found. Certain doubtful marks on my pottery somewhat resemble the impress of cereals, and, as I have already remarked, the existence of cereal worship points to the ancient use of millet or other grain. Probabilities are in favour of some cultivation *after*, if not *before*, the Yamato invasion. The *Yama imo*, "wild potato," the *Kuzuai*, "arrowroot," the *Warabi*, "common bracken," various other roots, nuts, wild fruit, edible leaves, fungi and seaweed, probably contributed to the diet of the primitive people. It is almost certain that fermented liquor was known. There are few primitive people who have not discovered some process of alcoholic fermentation, or learnt it from others. Before the end of the 3rd. century A. D., the Japanese had acquired a reputation for being "given to strong drink." It is interesting to note that the millet beer of the Ainu comes from an essentially primitive cereal, while the *sake* of the Japanese is made from rice.

POTTERY. It has already been said that the primitive pottery is never turned on the wheel, is always under the quality of hardness known as stoneware and is often imperfectly baked. The unconsumed carbon is left in the body of the paste as a dark streak, of irregular thickness and distribution. Sometimes it forms a patch extending through to the outer or inner surface of the vessel, indicating imperfect heating. The section exhibits a coarse texture in most cases, because the clay has been tempered with sharp sand and occasionally particles of quartz or small pebbles, and because the firing has not been sufficient to assist homogeneity of substance. The colour usually approaches that of terra-cotta, with varying shades, running occasionally into grey or even black. This latter colour, however, is sometimes due to pigmentation. I think some of the deeper shades of red are also artificially produced. They are, however, burnt in and are not to be mistaken for the coating of vermilion which occasionally occurs. I have

Fig. 32.



Potsherd showing "coiling" as a conventional decoration: fracture of the heavy bottom at its junction with the sides, and stones, suitable for moulding clay

lately disinterred some specimens which show a distinct attempt to produce designs in colour Though colour is an insignificant feature of this pottery and though the ware lacks the regularity of form and equality of thickness attainable only by the potter's wheel, there is variety of shape and plastic decoration that is not exceeded by the fictile art of any other country.

The vessels were built up by adding pieces of wet clay to a larger piece which was moulded to form the bottom. These may have been kept in position by a support of wickerwork or a solid vessel, or coiling may have been used which appears to have been the case in fig. 32.

There is no evidence, so far as I am aware, of basket-work impressions extending up the sides of vessels, but sundry markings suggest that this was sometimes used as a means of support. Before decoration, the vessel was moulded into shape and continuity by beating and pres-

sing, so that such marks might be obliterated. It is only in the beginnings of the ceramic art that the basket on which the pottery was moulded was retained in place and burned in the kiln, so as to leave its full impression on the clay. Mr. Torii Ryuzo, in writing about the pottery-making of the Arizan tribe in Formosa, describes the formation of a clay vessel by indenting a lump of clay with a round stone and gradually deepening the depression thus made by pressure from without against the stone.* It is possible that a similar plan was sometimes used for shallow vessels in Japan. The bottoms were probably all moulded in this fashion.

This pottery differs greatly from that of the Yamato. The latter is nearly always turned on the wheel, is usually very hard, resembling stoneware, is uniformly baked through-out, and has a subdued decoration of limited pattern. This consists commonly of wave lines, parallel, oblique, or vertical lines, with incised triangles and circles. In the primitive pottery, the decoration, though sometimes simple and usually highly conventionalised, is less removed from natural representation than that of the Yamato. It consists largely of derivatives of animal forms or such material as netting and archaic fabrics. The Yamato pottery also bears patterns of cloth or matting, but here they are usually, though not invariably, an *imitation* of textiles. In the primitive pottery such imitation is rare, the pottery retaining the actual impressions of material which has been applied to the clay. I have already illustrated some of these (restamped to show the actual textile fabric, fig. 30). I emphasise this matter here to show that the Yamato sepulchral pottery presents, in the main, the conventional survival of textile impressions; the primitive ware, retains for the most part, the

* Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, January, 1901.

actual imprint of archaic fabrics, wherein the warp and woof can be seen.

Between these is a variety of pottery which has occasioned much discussion. From its first discovery in Yayoi street in Tokyo, it has been called *Yayoi-shiki*, or "Yayoi sort" pottery. In a former paper * I proposed to substitute for this the term "Intermediate pottery," which my recent excavations have added significance to. I propose to follow this short description of the primitive, with a statement regarding the Intermediate pottery.

As our ideas of the uses to which vessels have been put are in the main inferred from the form, it may be advisable to attempt some kind of classification based on the latter, though error must be allowed for. I present some illustrations photographed, by kind permission, from the collection in the Imperial University, together with others from my own collection. Some have already been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries.

Figs. 33 and 34,† are cooking pots. The elongated vessel was intended to rest amid the burning logs and in the ashes of the primitive hearth, which was the ground, with a circle of stones to retain the embers. These vessels are amongst the most ornamental of the primitive culture. I have a large cooking pan (still under repair) which is a dream of beautiful form and ornate moulding. We later beings who are accustomed to have our food cooked out of sight in utensils that are not exactly things of transcendent beauty, find it not easy to realise that artistic taste should centre around the cooking pot. But when we consider that the dining-room was also the kitchen, where the food was in all probability cooked before the household and assembled guests; when we reflect that the cooking pot

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* Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 18th, 1906.

† From the collection at the Imperial University.

Fig. 33.

Cooking Pot.
(Imperial University Collection).

Fig. 84.

Cooking Pot.
(Imperial University Collection).

was also soup tureen and perhaps the whole dinner service, we cease to wonder at the appetising garnishing of these vessels.

There were differences between pots and pans, in form, though perhaps not in name. The sample given here, fig. 35, is interesting, not only on account of its lack of moulded or incised decoration, but because the paste is black throughout its whole substance. The pottery is coarse and thick, but there is a decoration of mica particles that shine brightly and can just be seen in the half tone print. This coarse black pottery is found in the Kuriles, but also in the Kwanto, for I dug this out at the Negishi site. I have called it a pan because it resembles these utensils, but it shows

Fig. 85.

Pan or Bowl.

no sign of contact with fire; it may have been used as a bowl. Cooking pans with handles inside, for suspension over the fire instead of insertion in the embers, have an advantage over the latter, inasmuch as they do not need such constant care to avoid tilting or upsetting. Some of the pots and pans, even in the Kwanto, are provided with perforated loops which probably were used for steadying the vessel by means of cord, as well as for ornament. In Yezo and the Kuriles, coarse pans with handles inside have been found, and have been supposed to indicate a culture different from that of Honshu.* In Yezo, these have been found at Sapporo and at Ezashi, in Saghalien at Kushunnai, and also in the Kurile islands.

The Yezo or Ainu, however, have long been accustomed to obtain iron pots from Japan or Siberia, which formerly had handles inside. Pots of cherry tree or birch bark suspended by cord or thong, attached to cross pieces fixed inside the ends of the vessel,† served the purpose for which iron pots with handles inside were made, namely to afford greater protection from fire. Until a few years ago the art of pottery making lingered in a decadent form among the Kurile Ainu. It seems probable that the type of clay pan with handles inside was copied from the useful iron, or bark, model.

Specimens of bowls are given in figs. 36, 37, 38 and 39. Some (fig. 38, 39, 41 and 57) are provided with pedestals and others are shallowed down to saucer-like forms. No. 5, fig. 39, shows the decorated bottom of such a saucer, or plate. There are many gradations between plates, bowls, jars, vases and cups. Fig. 40, for instance, is a shallow bowl or

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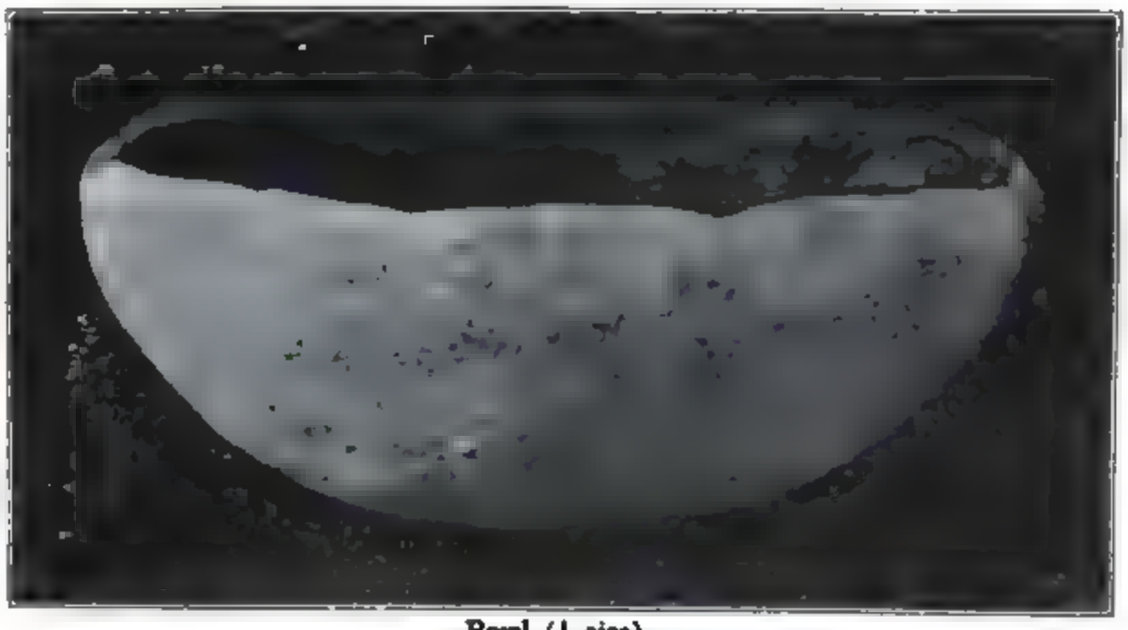
* Torii Ryuzo, in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, November, 1901.

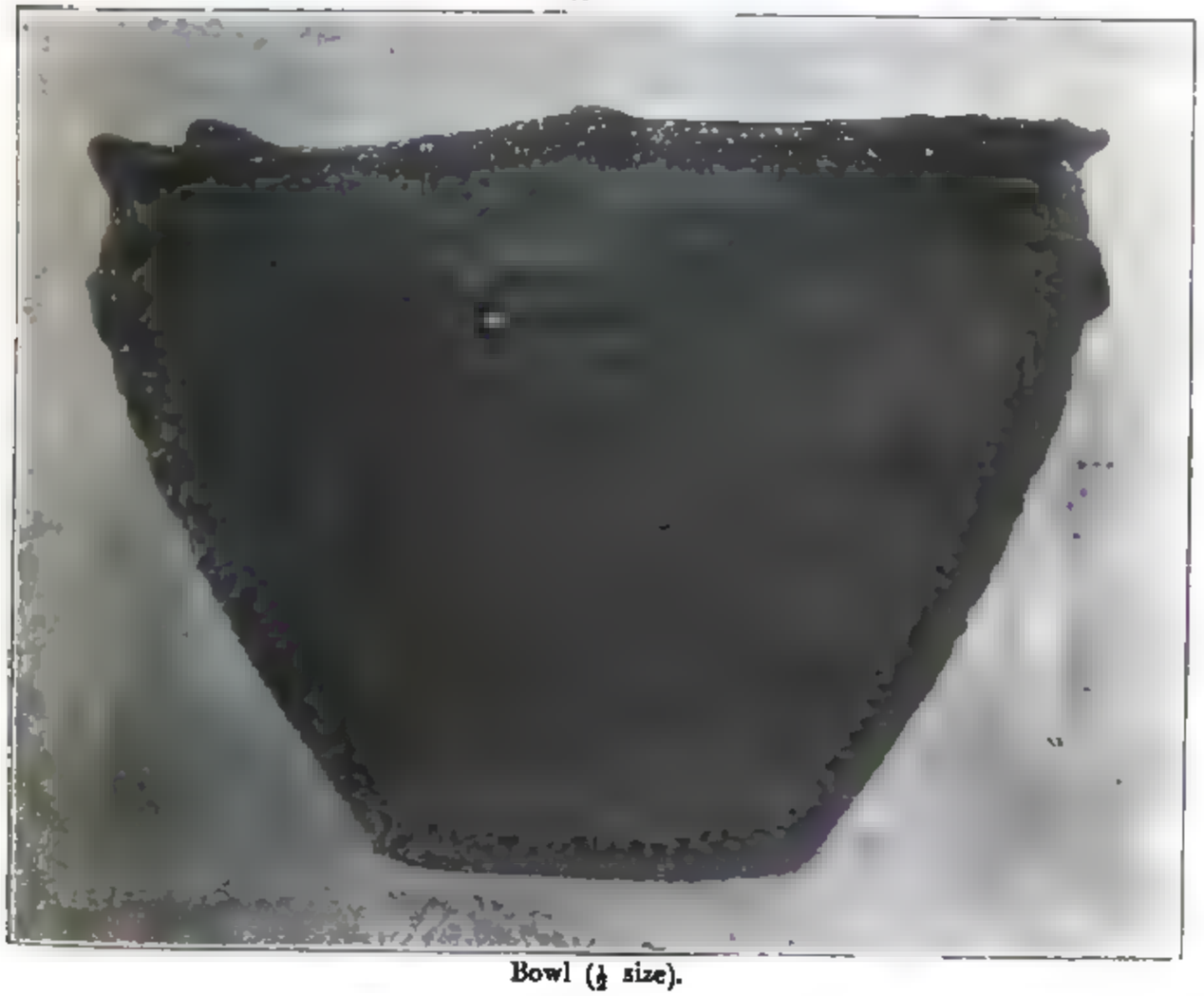
† Sometimes with a wooden handle hooked on outside the crosspieces.

Fig. 36.



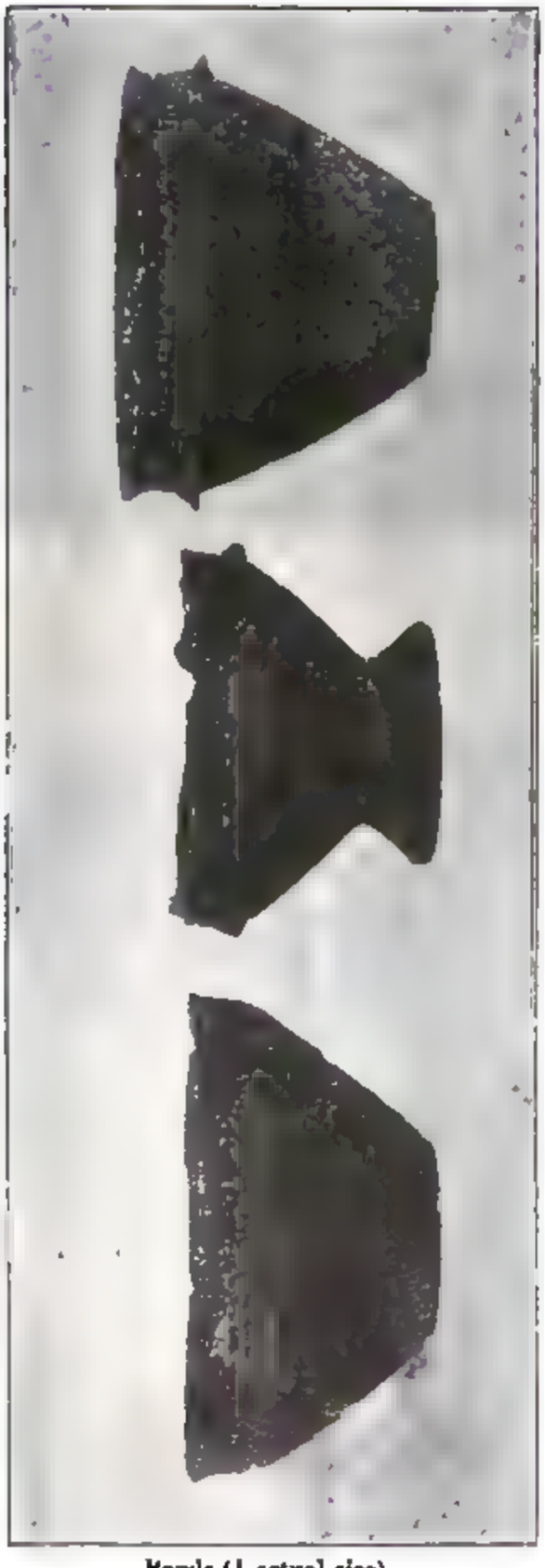
Bowl (⅛ size).

Fig. 37.



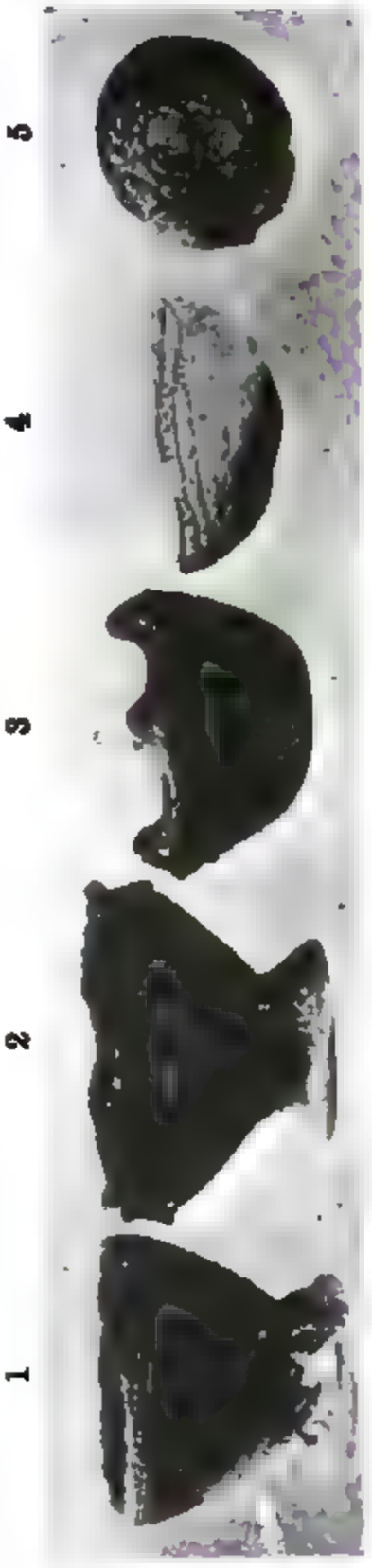
Bowl (⅛ size).

Fig. 38.



Bowls (¼ actual size).

Fig. 39.



Fowls.

Fig. 40. Shallow Bowl decorated with Bird (?) motive.

plate, as one will have it; fig. 41 is a vase, tazza or mounted bowl.

The Ainu use cups of wood; this material, or bamboo, may have answered the purpose with many of the primitive people. The vessels in fig. 42 somewhat resemble

Fig. 41.

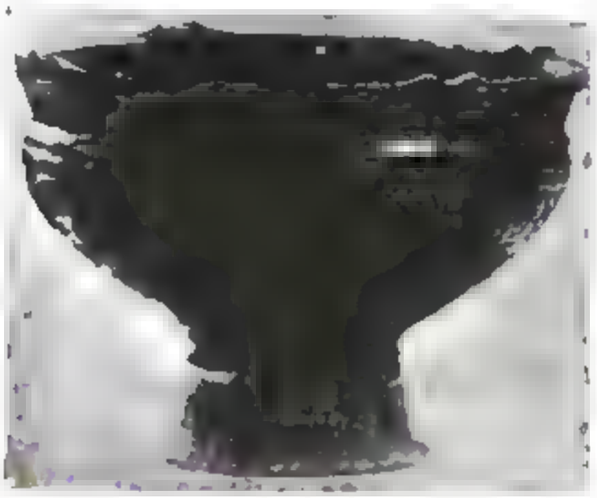
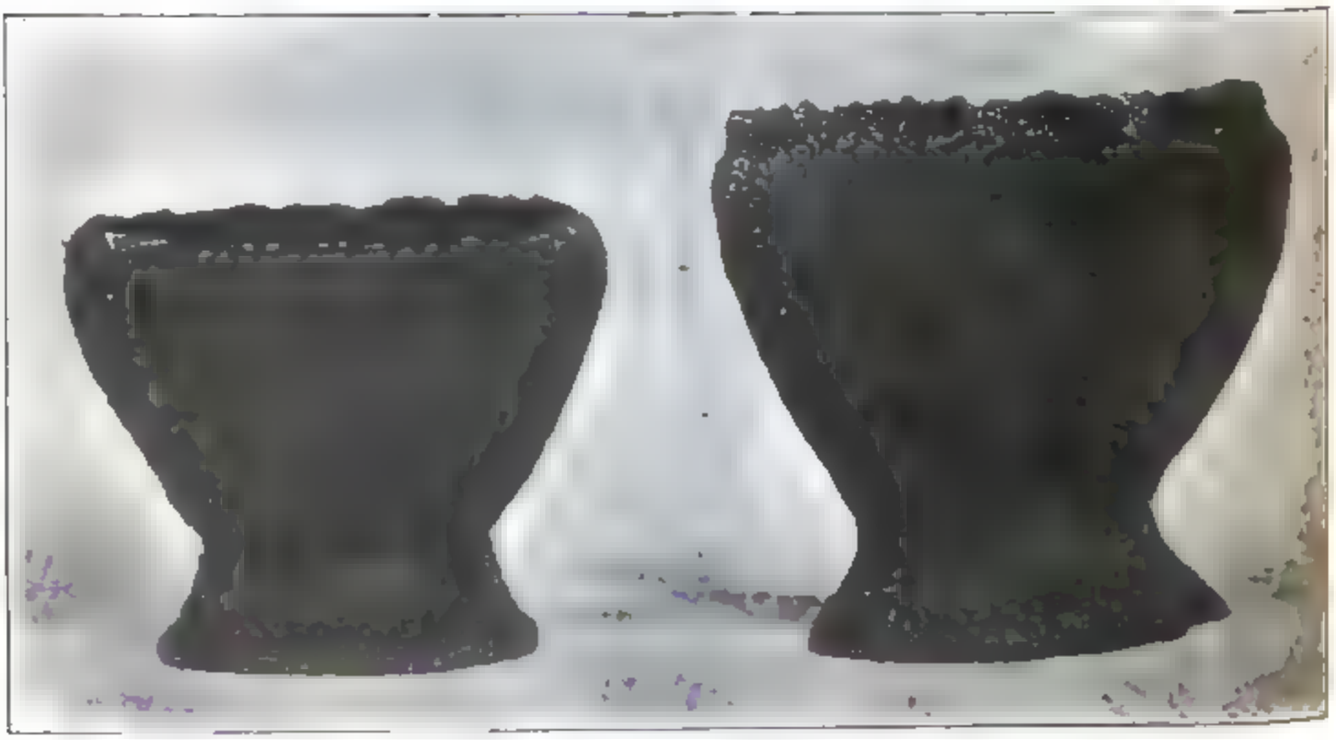


Fig. 42.



Bowls, Jars, Vases, or Cups.
(½ size).

the Ainu cups in shape. The same form is also found amongst the Intermediate pottery. A small shallow tazza (or cup stand,) the hand-made form and exceedingly coarse finish of which proclaim it a survival of very ancient times, is still used in the Shinto religious service at Nara. This form, seen in fig. 43, is also found with the intermediate pottery.

Jars are of endless variety and vary greatly in size. The distinction between these and bottles is not always easily drawn.

Fig. 43.

Survival of primitive type of Tazza.

(⅓ size).

Note: -A hole bored through the bottom into the pedestal, indicates its use as a stand for a chalice, rather than as a vessel itself.

They pass also into vase forms. Fig. 44 represents an archaic style, covered with the impression of a coarse fabric; so are both jars in fig. 45; but in No. 2, this forms a back-ground to another design, a plan which is not uncommon in the case of more recent vessels. Fig. 46, for instance, illustrates two jars from the north, of advanced shape, in one of which the textile decoration is limited to the body, while in

Fig. 44.

Jar with Archaic Textile pattern

Fig. 45.

Jars with Textile Decoration.

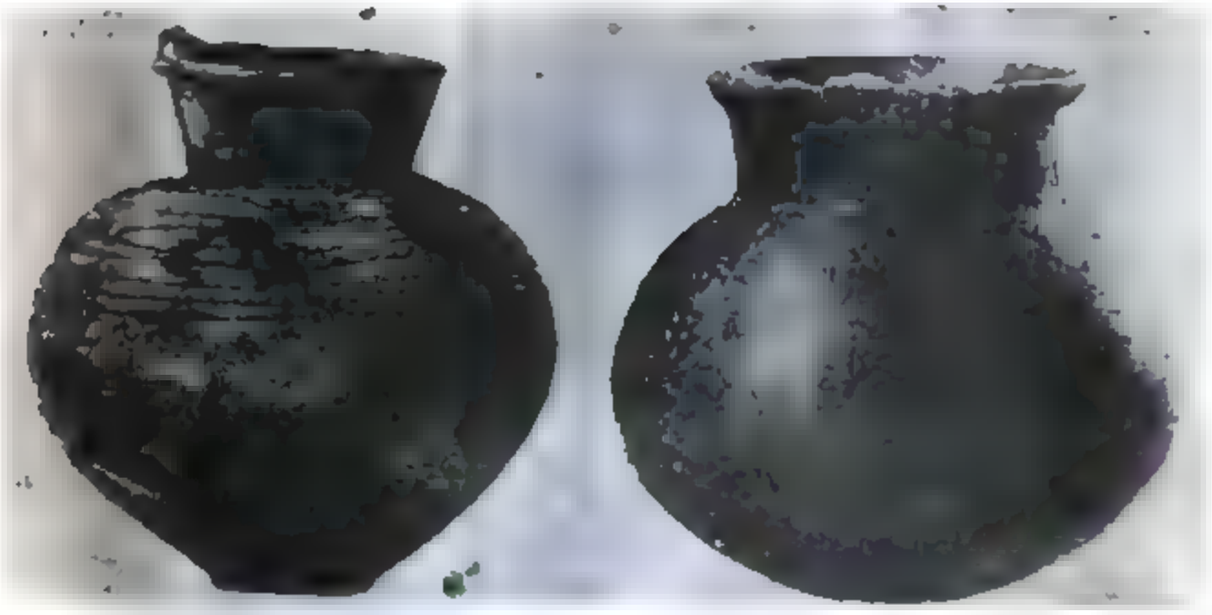
(½ size).

the other it is secondary to an incised motive. Fig. 47 depicts two jars, one of smooth finish and moulded rim, the other with fine textile and shoulder decoration. Experiments, which I have made, suggest that the impression of the clay, by varying its density, acts somewhat in the same manner as tempering material, such as coarse sand, in tending to prevent cracking during drying and firing.

Fig. 46.

jars of less archaic finish, but exhibiting the textile decoration. (¼ size).

Fig. 47.



Jars from the North.

The small jar, fig. 48, represents a sort found in Yezo and the north of Japan. Of the type seen in fig. 49, only one or two have been found. The decoration is also peculiar, consisting of a kind of raised cording arranged as a netting.

Fig. 48.

Jar from Yezo and 2 Cups.

Fig. 49.

Jar (about ⅓ size).

The drinking pot is a curious vessel (figs. 51, and 52) and may receive a little attention even in a general sketch such as this. It is shaped like a modern kettle, or teapot. The suggestion has been made that these were lamps, but I have not seen one with any trace of erosion on the rim of the spout to indicate such use. On the other hand the Yamato employed, in their sepulchral pottery at least, a form of drinking vessel in which a hole only was left for the spout, probably of bamboo. The vedic Indian called his intoxicating beverage "*soma*," the

Fig. 50.

Jar or Vase.

"milk of the gods;" the Ainu sometimes call Japanese *sake* "*tonoto*," which may possibly be derived from *to*, a "nipple," and *not*, a "mouthful." I have seen it, however, translated as "official milk." The primitive beverage, made from millet looks not unlike butter-milk. It is called *chirange ashkōro* (Batchelor).

The appearance of some of these spouts suggests a nipple, though a few are certainly phallic. A remarkable drinking vessel, with the spout broken off, and circular (ophidian?)

Fig. 51.

Drinking Pot, with decorated bottom.
(¼ size).

(2)

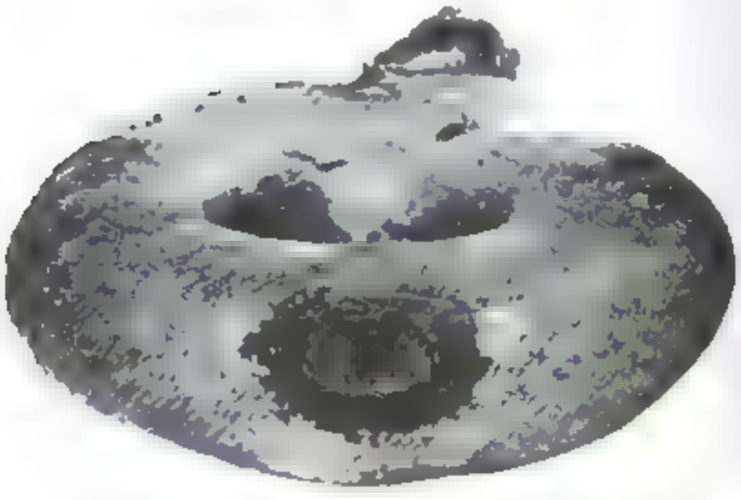
(1)

Fig. 52.

Drinking Pots (⅓ size.)
(The spout of No. 1, is missing).

form is shown in fig. 53. Bottles for water, or other fluids, occur in great variety. In Japan, where water is found in streams on all hands, one does not get the huge water jars in the primitive culture that one sees in arid countries. It is, moreover, likely that holes which I have found in the red clay at the bottom of the sites, were used for the storage of water, where there was no immediate proximity to a stream. Fig. 54, is a large specimen of bottle from the University collection. Fig. 55, is a fairly large specimen (which might have been a jar); other varieties are given in fig. 56. Lamps, usually shaped like an ordinary small bowl, occur, and may be known by the erosion of the edge from burning. From the Negishi site I obtained a broken pedestal, the fractured upper edge of which had been rubbed smooth so as to rest evenly when inverted, while the hollow base was used as a lamp.

Fig. 53.



Large drinking vessel of ophidian (?) shape. The spout (broken) faces the reader.

Fig. 54.

Bottle.
(Imperial University Collection).

Fig. 55.

Bottle or Jar.

Fig. 55.

Bottles.

What are supposed to be braziers, fig. 57, and incense burners, fig. 58, occur mainly in the north, though they have been found in the Kwanto.

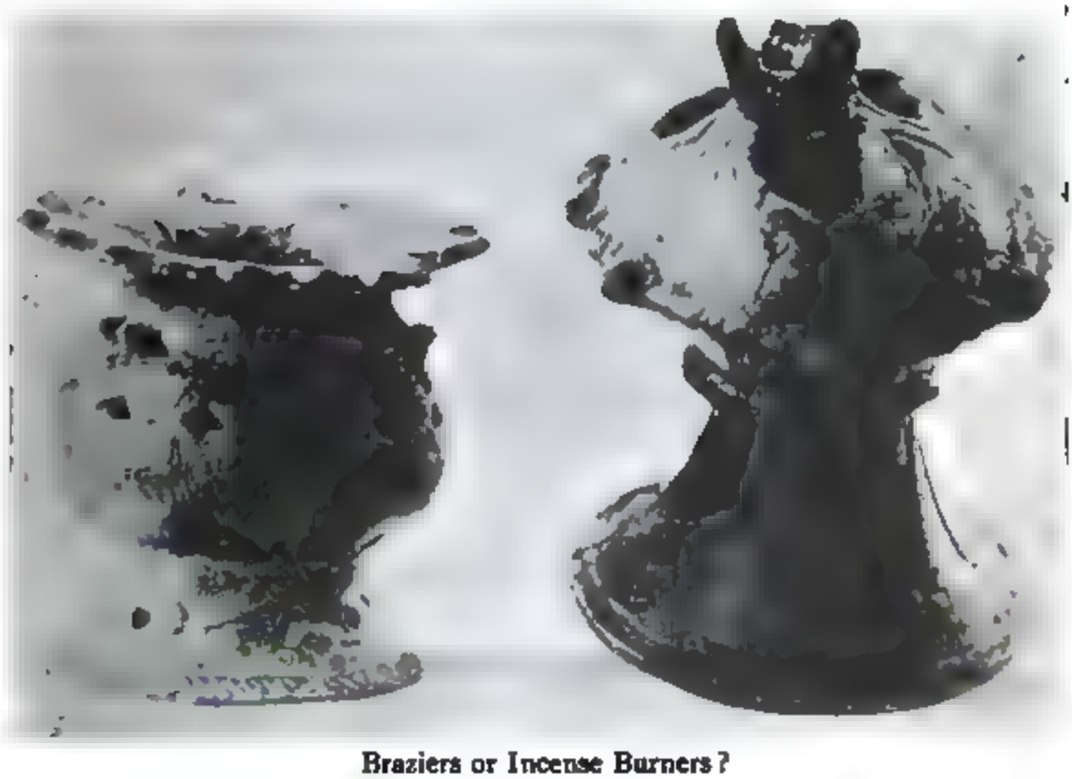
Some of the primitive vessels were provided with lids: three specimens are seen in fig. 59. One is decorated with the swastika or cross, a common pattern on the Japanese primitive pottery and implements, as it is almost everywhere in this grade of culture. The broken bowl is interesting on account of the perforations which were intended for the passage of twine for suspension. This type of vessel is sometimes found along with the Intermediate pottery, and even in the Yamato tombs. Bowls resembling it in form, though turned on the wheel, are not uncommon. I may mention that the repair of broken pottery was effected by boring holes like those in the figure, on either side of the fracture and binding with fibre or thong. In Europe a survival of this primitive process is seen in the metal clamps on fractured porcelain vessels.

Fishing weights of clay have already been mentioned and personal ornaments will be noted later. I have seen a drill, or spindle weight, of earthenware in the hands of a child, playing

near a primitive site. From its rough finish, colour of the clay and its neighbourhood, I suppose it was a product of this culture. The beautiful specimen lent to me by Dr. Taka-

Fig. 57. Bowl (with Pedestal) and Brazier? (Imperial University Collection).

Fig. 58.



Braziers or Incense Burners?

shima, No. 1, fig. 79. was perhaps intended to give momentum to a small spindle.

Tablets or plaques of baked clay have been discovered in the primitive sites, the exact use of which is unknown. Five were found in the Ōmori site and Morse suggested that they might have been used in some game like quoits, as insignia of authority, or as amulets.* Either of these reasons would account for the worn appearance and fracture of these objects. Possibly they were not only used for occult reasons, but to give physical protection to the body.† The Ainu have a legend about their forefathers using "stone armour." The appearance of some plaques is quite consistent with the idea that they were fetich. Several are distinctly anthropomorphic,

* "Shellmounds of Ōmori," Memoirs of the Science Department, University of Tokyo, by Professor E. S. Morse. 1879.

† The Chukchi and Koriaks, who, with the Ainu, have been classified as Palæasiatics, use plates of bone sewn into the garment, as armour.

Fig. 59.

Lids of vessels, and a broken bowl, which shows drilled perforations, for suspension by cord.

Fig. 60. It is scarcely possible that they were a form of currency. Dickeson has illustrated specimens of "terra-cotta money," and has stated that such was employed by the Indians of North America.*

Masks are employed by many primitive tribes for the religious and social drama, that is posing and dancing, with gesture language. The underlying idea is probably a transmutation of personality, as in the passing from a fox, bear, tree or rock, to a human being and *vice versa* A good specimen† from the University collection is seen in fig. 61. The rimmed appearance of the eye is found also on some of the

* "American Numismatic Manual" Plate III & p. 41.

† In earthenware. Apparently a *fac-simile*

earthenware images of this culture and has been the subject of some speculation. Professor Tsuboi is of opinion that

Fig. 60.

Earthenware Plaque. (Anthropon orphic,) From the "Senshi Kōko Zufu," (Illustrations of Prehistoric Archeology) by Mr. Ono Nobutaro.

Fig. 61.

Human Face, or Mask.

eye guards or goggles are represented. He sees, therefore, a significant connection between the early inhabitants of Japan and the Eskimo, who use snow blinds. The latter, however, have but a formal resemblance to the eyes of the primitive images of Japan. I believe that this is simply a conventional garnishing of the human eye, recognised as the visible token of the mind by the savage as well as by the poet. When the Ainu eats the sclerotic (white of the eye) of his divinity, the bear, regarding it as a precious morsel, one may be sure that special significance is attached to the eye.* The figures themselves are always conventionalised in other ways, sometimes almost beyond recognition as human, figs. 62, 63, 64 and 65. In a

* Various tribes of Eastern Asia eat the eye of the bear in order, doubtless, to obtain clear vision, just as the heart of this and other animals is supposed to confer strength. Following this analogy, it is conceivable that the large eye was intended to increase the seeing faculty of the ancestral ghost. See Fig. 60, where the eyes are the only *facial* features capable of identification.

Fig. 62.

Earthenware figure.

Fig. 68.

Earthenware figure.

Fig. 64.

Earthenware figure.

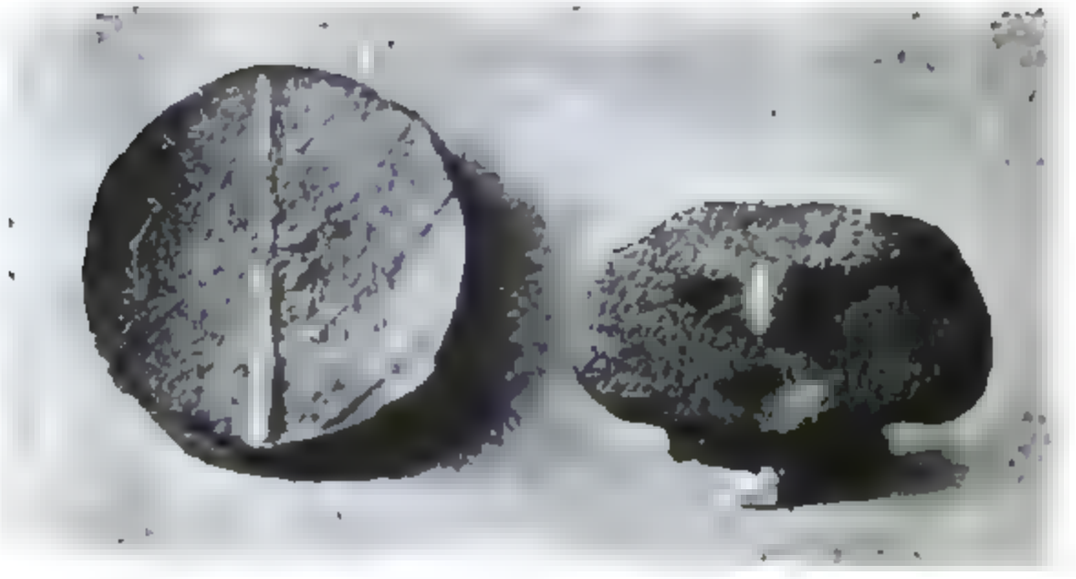
Fig. 63.

Earthenware figure.

Fig. 64.

Earthenware figure.

Fig. 67.



Impression of Leaf on bottom of vessel (reproduced in plaster).
Crude representation of face.

Fig. 68 is from the University collection. It probably is intended to depict hair on the face. Several images suggesting the hirsute character of the Ainu, have been discovered. One is illustrated by Mr. Nakamura Shitoku, in the "Archeological World."* The triangular decoration at the mouth corners of fig. 68, is found on some other images; one can scarcely decide whether it indicates tattooing, or the use of the mouth stud. I am inclined, from the shapes of the patches in this and other specimens, to set them down to tattooing, but it is quite possible that the mouth button was used by the primitive inhabitants. From my excavations, I have thus far obtained portions of six different figures, but these are not yet photographed. Several animal figures have been obtained from the north of Japan.

Few, if any, persons now believe that the patterns of savage art ever represent a striving after geometrical designs. They are delineations which have gone astray. Portraiture is the ancestor of decoration, but its descendants often betray little

* "Kōkokai," Vol. 3, No. 9, p. 15.

Fig. 68.

Human Face or Mask.

evidence of their origin. As Balfour and others have shown, each successive copy, taken from the one preceding, instead of from the original model, becomes a point of departure for that which follows, and this progressive alteration leads to profound modification at the end of a series.* This departure is hastened by lack of skill on the part of successive artisans, but other factors come into play, such as the conditions under which the object is seen, especially perspective and shadow. It has been truly said that all graphic art is more or less conventional, that is, it is never an exact representation of the object it intends to pourtray. When the original motive has become highly conven-

* "The Evolution of Decorative Art.", by H. B. Balfour M.A., F.Z.S., p. 23 et seq.

tionalised, so that interpretation is difficult, the imagination of the artist may even conceive the background to be the leading feature. An interesting instance occurs with regard to the patterns known as *mitsu-domoe* and *futatsu-domoe*.* This claw shaped design, familiar in the *magatama*, the sacred jewels of the Yamato race, is supposed to be of Corean extraction. Yet, I am informed that the Ainu, who employ this pattern,† believe the intervening space to be the motive and the *magatama*-like design to be the background.

Adventitious causes, for example the breaking of vessels, bending of clay before firing, marks of tools or any material which has come in contact with the wet clay, have had some influence in altering the shape or ornamentation of pottery. As an instance of the latter, fig. 67 shows a leaf impression on the bottom of a vessel. This pattern is not very rare: though probably accidental in origin, it came to be used as a regular decoration. I have specimens in which the impression has been retouched to bring out the finer veining of the leaf. The impression of matting too, on the bottoms of vessels, as well as the textile decoration of the sides, probably began through accidental contact. Probably a piece of fabric was sometimes used to support the clay while drying.

A large album would be needed to give an adequate idea of the primitive pottery, of its forms and the exceeding variety of its patterns. At present I am trying to make a selection of the latter from some twenty thousand potsherds from my excavations. Many of these have to be partially repaired to provide extension for the design, so that progress is slow. I shall not attempt to illustrate these extended patterns, but in fig. 69, are seen a few pieces from one of the Negishi shell-mounds, and in fig. 70, some lugs and pieces showing mainly

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* The treble and double *tomoe*. I have suggested in my "Coins of Japan" that *magatama*, comes from *maga*, "curved" and the archaic Japanese *tume*, a "claw," rather than *tama*, a "jewel." The derivation of *tomoe* is not clear and I am not prepared to say that it has more than an homophonous affinity to *tume*.

† See Ainu knife sheaths, fig. 74, No. 4 (right hand).

Fig. 69.

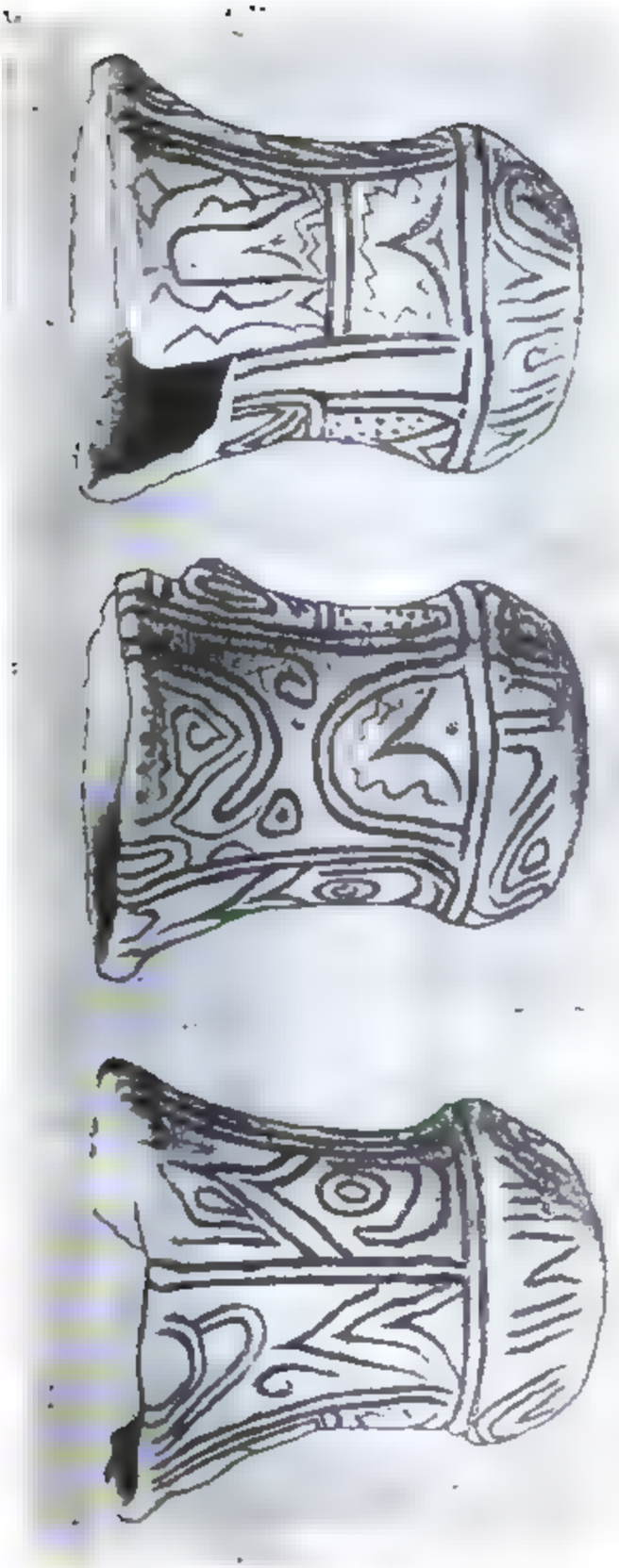
Moulding from Primitive Pottery.
Intaglio and Relieving.

Fig. 70

Lugs and other relief Mouldings from Primitive Pottery.
(mainly animal motives).

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 Bird motives. Nos. 5 and 6 Bone motives? Nos. 7 and 8 Bone? Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 Snake. Nos. 13 and 14 Marine invertebrates. No. 15 Rope. No. 16 Appears Anthropomorphic, but probably only a coincidence, as the lug is inverted.

Fig. 71.



Pictorial Vase, probably for ceremonial use, (depicting cosmic or other events?)

animal motives. Fig. 71, is a drawing of an important and interesting vase which I removed from the Negishi site, one of the very few specimens, indeed so far as I can learn, the only unequivocal specimen known in Japan, of positive picture writing. While it is by no means unlikely that the patterns generally were capable of more definite interpretation than we can give them, the art of pictorial composition was apparently seldom practised on clay. I cannot pretend to interpret the meaning of these panels, but it is evident that they are descriptive rather than ornamental. There is an Ainu myth, which has its analogy in Japanese folk lore,

to the effect that the world with its surrounding sea, is supported on the back of a fish, a legend also familiar in European Russia. Movements of the tail and body of the fish produce earthquakes, while the ebb and flow of the tide are due to its sucking and ejecting the sea. The right hand panel in No. 1 might be descriptive of this Ainu myth. But if this conjecture be wrong we still perceive in this panel, as in the others, a pictorial relationship between the objects delineated. It is possible that the series is a primitive book of Genesis and that the vase or cup was for festival or ritual use.

One cannot pass by the subject of decoration without referring to the controversy between the upholders of the Ainu and the Kropok-guru theories as to the primitive population. It is maintained by Professor Tsuboi on behalf of the latter, that the Ainu patterns are fundamentally different from those on the primitive pottery. In figs. 72, 73 and 74, I have given a variety from specimens in my collection. I must confess that I can make out no radical distinction between these patterns and those of the primitive people. Some difference must be admitted, but the similarity is, in my opinion, of great significance. If we consider the difference in the material used, the function of the implements, the changed circumstances of the primitive inhabitants and the effect of a lapse of time on the decorative art, which carries slight alterations farther apart, it would be strange if no difference were perceptible. Have not Japanese designs altered during the past 1500 years?

We have five materials for comparison, viz. stone, pottery, wood, bone and the human skin. The Ainu of Yezo do not indulge in bone carving to the same degree as those of Saghalien. The shellheaps show still less, but some instances have been found, especially by Dr. Takashima. One specimen in his collection, carved on staghorn, shows the pattern referred to below (advolute), which is common to the primitive people and to the Ainu. We do not know what patterns were carved on wood or tattooed in skin, by the primitive people, but having

Fig. 72.

Ainu Pipe holder and Lids of Tobacco Boxes.
(½ size).

Fig. 73.

Ainu Moustache Lifters.
(½ size).

Fig. 74.

Ainu Knife Sheaths.
(¼ size).

regard to the difference in material and function, we may conclude that they differed somewhat from those on pottery and implements or fetich of stone. There is some difference indeed between the patterns on the stone clubs, fig. 77, and the decoration of the pottery, quite as much perhaps, as between the Ainu and primitive designs. There is also a noticeable difference between the patterns of the older and more recent primitive pottery, not only those of the deep and superficial layers of the same shellmound, but between the ornamentation of the Kwanto and Mutsu. In all these cases, however, there is enough surviving from the earlier to the later phase, and extending from one type of implement to the other, upon which to establish an identity of ornamental motive.

On both the Ainu and the primitive implements, one sees the textile pattern,* the swastika,† the snake,‡ the scroll,§ whether simple () *advolute* (), or *abvolute* () as I have termed the two latter: also what I venture to call the unigram,‖ by which word I express the delineation, however conventionalised, of a single feature, such as an eye, leaf, etc. Several instances occur to me from my own pottery and the series of outline drawings by Mr. Ono Nobutaro,¶ where motives identical to those of the Ainu are to be seen, but this is a special aspect which cannot be elaborated here. I therefore only remark that I see as much difference between the tattoo patterns of the Ainu and their wooden implements as between the latter and the designs of the neolithic phase; but that cases of similar or even identical design are sufficiently obvious to suggest an identity of culture.

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* Fig. 72, Nos. 4 and 7 (2, 3, 5 and 6?) Fig. 74, No. 4 (all the numbers?) Fig. 73, (1, 3, 4 and 5?). If the Striae seen on the numbers between brackets do not indicate a textile motive, they are at least common to the Ainu and stone phase pottery.

† Fig. 72, No. 5, (6?); Fig. 73, No. 5. Fig. 74, No. 1.

‡ Fig. 73, No. 4.

§ Fig. 72, No. 3. On Ainu Costumes etc.

‖ *Bi-*, *tri-*, *multigram* might be used for two, three or several features, when associated without intent to reproduce *in toto*, a natural object.

¶ "Moyo no Kura," or "Treasury of Patterns."

A sketch of the primitive pottery would not be complete without a statement concerning the relation of its pottery to that which has been called *Yayoishiki*, but for which I have proposed the term "Intermediate." Though I formed the opinion some years ago that this pottery presents a link between the neolithic and the Yamato cultures, the considerations then available have been greatly strengthened by my recent investigations. The first hint of a connection between the intermediate and stone age pottery, came, I believe, from the discovery of the former pottery in the grounds of the Higher Girls' School at Nagano by Messrs Makita* and Tamaki.† Mr. Ono Nobutaro,‡ however, after a study of the local conditions, came to the conclusion that the remains were not originally associated, but that there was probably an accidental proximity. Hearing from Mr. Yagi that a shellheap containing the *Yayoishiki* pottery had been found some years ago at the hamlet of Kitakase, a few miles from Kawasaki, but that no exploration had been made, I decided, after an inspection of the site, to make a section. Mr. Yagi undertook to watch the excavation during my periods of absence. As a section only was made, the excavation did not occupy six labourers more than a week. The result was highly instructive. In the top layer of earth, from two to a little over three feet in thickness, a few pieces of intermediate pottery only were found. Then in a shell-heap of 8 feet in thickness, this pottery occurred, with a few pieces of the primitive ware. Below this again was a layer, about four feet deep, which contained only primitive pottery. Quite underneath the latter, I came upon a fireplace, covered by a thick layer of ashes; the deep red colour of the burnt soil clearly showed the position of the fire, near which were some large cobbles, which had been used to retain the ashes.

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* "Jinruigaku Zasshi," or "Anthropological Magazine" Tokyo. Nos. 180 & 190.

† Ibid. No. 214.

‡ Ibid.

In shape, this pottery is said to approximate to the Malay, but of this I have little knowledge. Some of it clearly resembles the Yamato sepulchral (*Iwaibe*) pottery in form and some that of the stone phase. I propose, however, to consider here only the character of the paste and its decoration, noting its relation to the Yamato type on the one hand and to that of the Primitive on the other.

This ware is not turned on the wheel, and hence claims kinship with the primitive pottery. It is usually marked exteriorly, and sometimes interiorly, by lines scored on the surface of the clay, before drying. For this purpose, styles and combs, for single and parallel line drawing, were employed. These were occasionally also used in the primitive pottery, especially in its later phase. The lines thus produced are occasionally arranged so as to give the effect of having been turned on the wheel. In this respect the intermediate pottery approaches that of the Yamato tombs, where residual lines of the potter's wheel are purposely left, and sometimes exaggerated, as if to solicit attention to the fact that the ware was shaped on the wheel. But possibly the turned lines were left, because they simulated a form of ornament already in vogue, namely the line decoration of the intermediate pottery. The combed lines are identical with those on the terra-cotta figures of the Yamato. The fact, already pointed out, that the textile decoration of the Yamato is frequently in the form of an imitation of actual fabric, rather than of its direct impress; the combination of lines on the intermediate pottery often suggesting textile effects as well as markings of rotation, might lead one to suppose that the lines on the Yamato pottery were copied from the latter, instead of *vice versa*.

The character of the paste varies, It resembles the finer grades of the primitive, rather than the sepulchral pottery of the Yamato. None of it comes up to the hardness of stoneware, which is the criterion of the Yamato ware, not, however, always realised even in the latter pottery. The paste is better

baked than that of the cruder neolithic pottery, yet it is not superior to the higher grades produced by this culture. The surface colour is usually of a more or less soiled *terracotta*. The colour may be that of ochre, sometimes nearly black, not seldom red, which may occasionally be of vermilion hue, or quite pink. I have a few fragments of a light steel grey resembling one of the Yamato shades.

The relation of the Intermediate pottery to that of the shellheaps is therefore not confined to mere contiguity, but extends to the material of which it is made. It also presents an affinity in its decoration, less than that exhibited by the Yamato pottery, but still unquestionable. In fact this pottery is truly intermediate in character.

When we analyse the contents of the Kitakase shellmound, we find five varieties at least. These are :

1.—Intermediate pottery, carrying sometimes familiar Yamato patterns.

2.—Intermediate pottery, carrying also primitive patterns.

3.—Pottery with hybrid patterns.

4.—Undecorated pottery of ambiguous origin.

5.—Primitive pottery.

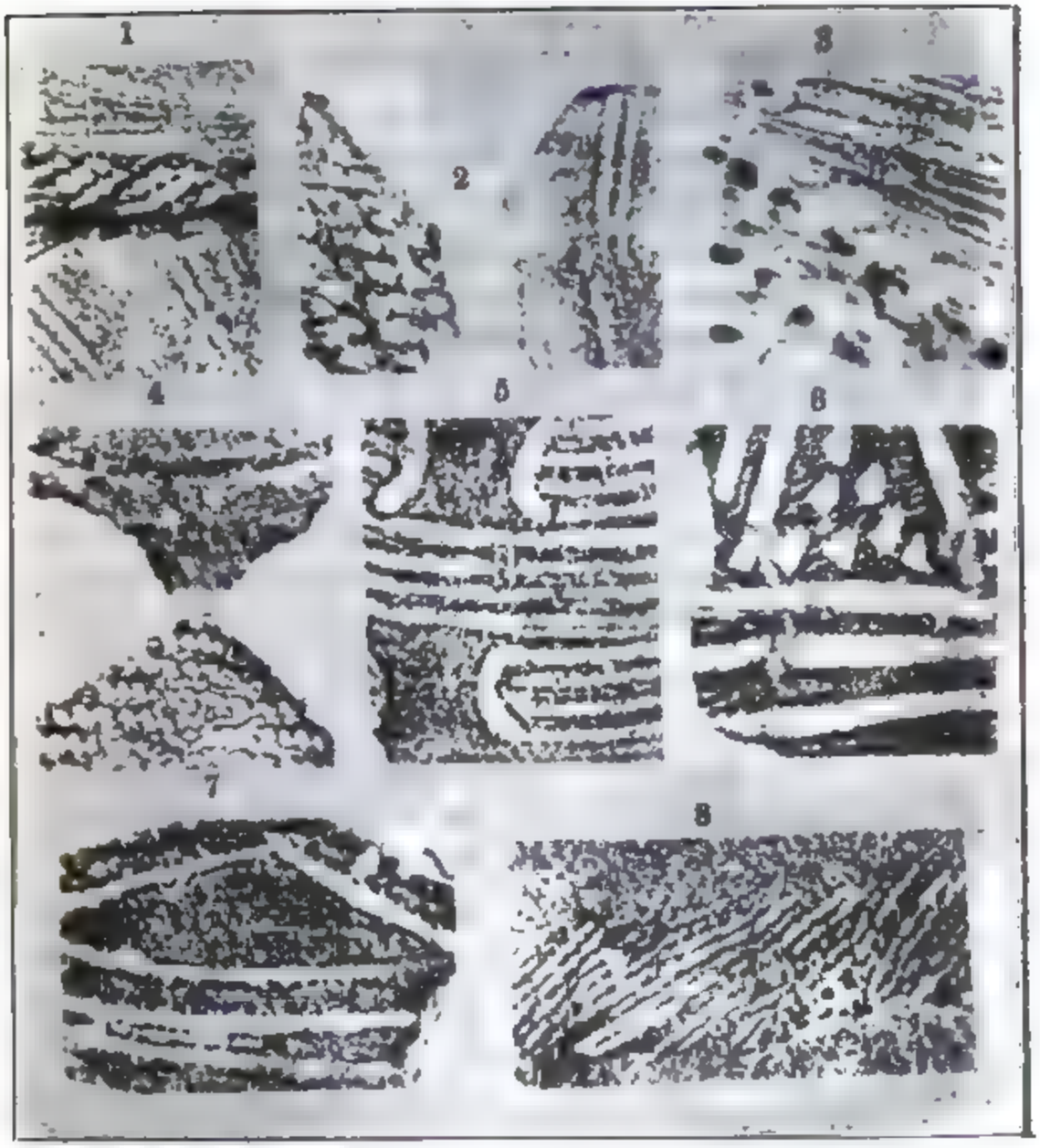
A few examples of each may suffice.

The rubbings, figs. 75 and 76, which I have taken from this pottery, show the comb, brush, or style marks. Some of this pottery is so slightly scored that it is hardly distinguishable, in this respect, from that of the neolithic phase. The rims of these vessels are frequently nicked or crenated, by an implement or the fingers. This is seen in No. 3 of this figure. Depressions are sometimes interspersed between the lines of ornament so as to vary the effect (Nos. 4 and 5). These appear to be done by means of a flat ended stick, or occasionally a hollow bamboo. The patterns from 9 to 14 resemble those on some of my Yamato pieces without being identical. The motive is the same. What is further significant is that the plan of decorating by the comb is the same. In the upper layers of

Fig. 75.

Tracing of patterns on the Intermediate Pottery, (Yayoishiki).

Fig. 76.



Tracings from the "Intermediate" type of pottery, showing the contact with the Primitive Culture.

certain shellheaps, pottery ornamented by the same means may be seen, fig. 52.*

2.—The relationship of this pottery to the primitive is further emphasised by the frequent occurrence on the bottoms of vessels which are undoubtedly "intermediate," of the leaf

* Seen rarely also in the deeper layers. Striated decoration is common to the three grades of pottery, Primitive, Intermediate and Yamato.

and matting patterns. In No. 1, fig. 76, taken from the rim of a vessel, the central band of textile has been impressed only on the edge of the vessel while both external and internal surfaces have the comb pattern. In Nos. 2; and 4, the comb pattern is on the interior while the primitive one is on the exterior. In No. 3, a cord pattern (primitive) and a comb pattern are both done on the outer surface.

3.—Pottery with patterns which may be described as hybrid also occurs. Specimens even more characteristic of the stone phase than Nos. 5, 6 and 7 might have been presented, but as these are uncommon I have placed them here. In No. 6, the background is intermediate, a kind of composite photograph thus resulting. In No. 8 a band of what appears to be primitive textile, though somewhat finer than usual, traverses a piece of intermediate pottery, otherwise undecorated. Nos. 5, 6 and 7 might be equally classed with the primitive or intermediate designs.

4.—Some of the intermediate pottery, resembles the primitive ware so closely in its paste, that one cannot always distinguish them when decoration is absent. With regard to colour, I have not found the pink variety among the purely primitive pottery, but various shades of red and the darker tones of brown and grey are common in the upper layers, and occasionally found in the lower layers, of the shellmounds.

5.—The primitive pottery at the bottom of this shellmound is identical with that occurring elsewhere.

It can scarcely be doubted that we have here, not only a superposition of the vestiges of a later upon an earlier culture, but that the steps of a transition are present. In effect, the intermediate pottery approaches in its paste the primitive and in its patterns the Yamato pottery. It also occasionally exhibits a combination of motives from the Yamato and primitive types, besides those which are its peculiar characters. It occurs, though rarely, in the Yamato tombs, and in pits which are

distinct from those of the stone phase.* Mr. Torii Ryuzo has found Yamato sepulchral pottery in a pit along with the intermediate ware. No one who has compared the intermediate pottery with the *Haniwa* and *Tsuchi Ningyo*† of the Yamato can have any doubt that the paste is often very similar and that the comb like markings in both of the latter are significantly alike. Charred rice has been discovered in the intermediate vessels. These considerations bear out the conclusion which I formerly reached, namely, that the intermediate pottery was in everyday use by the Yamato and that during the era immediately following the primitive culture, this pottery may have been made by native artisans (who were almost certainly females) to supply the wants of the Yamato conquerors.

COMMERCE.

Some sort of trade was assuredly carried on by the primitive people. As I have elsewhere remarked, we can scarcely conceive of any culture where the capabilities of man and the opportunities of his environment have been so evenly distributed that all products of human industry were fashioned exactly alike, by each individual member of the race. From the very beginning of human endeavour, we must suppose that some one was able to make a certain article of better quality, or more abundantly than his neighbours. Thus the original craftsman came to have a surplus which he could exchange for other commodities of which he stood in need, but could not so easily produce. The variety of objects found in the primitive sites, and the degree of culture to which the primitive people had attained, furnish ground for the belief that a fair amount of trade, or barter, of give and take of commodities, took place. Obsidian was brought to Musashi from Izu, and serpentine, steatite and other minerals came from a distance. Lava for the

* No implements of stone were found with the intermediate pottery, but a more extensive excavation might possibly reveal such an association.

† Cylinders or tubes and figures (human or animal) of terracotta.

primitive mill may have come to this region from Boshu, whence it does to-day. Vermilion (cinnabar) must have been an object of trade, but where it could have been obtained in Japan is unknown. One might suppose that, like the colours and beads sold to modern savages, this might have been brought by the Yamato (who sometimes decorated their own faces in patterns of red) and who might have exchanged it for skins, etc. The records of Wei (3rd. century A.D.)* expressly state, "there are markets in each province where they (inhabitants of Japan) exchange their superfluous produce for articles of which they are in want." It is probable, however, that vermilion was a native product, for the Later Han writings (1st. to 3rd century A.D.) say "there is cinnabar in the mountains."† In the intervals between raids and fighting, the primitive inhabitants, doubtless, indulged in barter with the Yamato, as they did between themselves.

RELIGION.

I have remarked that the clay figures of human form, obtained from the primitive sites, were probably connected with ancestor worship. It is an open question whether the worship of fire and other natural phenomena, is more primitive than that of the dead. One cannot enter fully into it here. Either may be met with in various stages of growth and we can only surmise the most primitive beginnings of each. Nor does "worship," exactly express the attitude of primitive man, perhaps even in his most advanced stages, to his conception of the "powers that be." Such ideas as omniscience, omnipresence supreme benevolence, etc., are out of the question. His god is essentially a personality, like himself, whose position in the after-life, or inherence in some individual object, is to him a guarantee of ability. The god may be either a "general practitioner" or a "specialist," but in either case he is cajoled,

* "Early Japanese History," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 16, p. 58.

† Ibid. p. 54.

bribed, threatened, or even punished, in order to enlist his activity on behalf of the believer. The steps by which primitive man has been led to attribute life, or perhaps rather personality, as we conceive it, to most of nature's phenomena, are summarised in the "Sociology," where the acumen of Herbert Spencer set them forth many years ago.* When the heathen "bows down to wood and stone," it is not due to "blindness," but rather to a watchful outlook on his surroundings, and, so far as his unaided senses permit, to reasonable inference from the data acquired. When he seeks for aid from the sun, the fire, the fetich thing, the ancestral shade, the proceeding is based, not upon childish impulse, but on a process of observation and logical deduction. If his premises have been at fault, it is entirely due to reliance on the evidence of his senses. The process of reasoning from the evidence that presented itself was not different from that of the clearest scientific thinker of today. If superstition was the inevitable conclusion of observations based on appearances only, its existence is none the less a monument to the reasoning capacity of early man.

In the case of the amulet and talisman, persisting in modern life, the idea of potency has become detached from that of "virtue" in its older and personal sense, but it appears to me inevitable that the fundamental idea was that of personal power. If this be so, we are justified in claiming priority for some rudimentary form of ancestor worship, over that of natural objects.

The realisation of personal being, (self-consciousness) does not necessarily carry with it the idea of existence apart from the body. The latter, as Herbert Spencer pointed out, is a sequence of the dislocation seemingly experienced in dreams, suspended consciousness and death. It is death, however, that gives duration to the separated personality. Death, from the primitive standpoint, is a transmutation of personality. Hence

* "Principles of Sociology," Chaps. 8—18.

the propitiation of the manes. The imputation of personality to entities of the organic and the inorganic worlds was a natural consequence of the belief in this transmutation, hence nature worship and fetichism. Transmutation of personality, rather than (as Tylor suggests,) a "belief in spiritual beings" * is the root of religion.

What Batchelor has described as the chief of the *inao* fetiches of the Ainu, is called by them "the ancestral governor of the house." † "His consort's name is Abe kamui, i.e. the 'divine fire.'" Here is an interesting connection between the ancestral and fire cults, which is emphasised by Batchelor's description of the physical body of the ancestral divinity.‡ Fire and ancestor worship are deep rooted in the primitive past of Japan. They are associated in the shrines at Izumo, where the sacred fire is still produced by the primitive hand drill, and at Ise, where the great dead are propitiated, and the shrines are destroyed by fire every twenty years.

The relics of fetichism are too apparent in Japan to escape recognition. They clearly indicate that this cult must have been widespread in ancient times. The images from the primitive sites probably form a connecting link between ancestral and fetich worship. In other countries the transition has been seen in the inclusion of some remains of the deceased, such as, bones, blood or ashes, in the composition of the figures. The universal custom of making offerings to these images is the best proof that they were not merely effigies, but were supposed to embody the *real presence*. Not only is this custom prevalent in Melanesia, Polynesia and eastern Asia; it was common in ancient and known in mediæval Europe. Such images have been described at the burials of Charles 6th of France, Henry 5th of England, and other monarchs of Europe. The practice of sympathetic magic, through a model of some living person, is

* "Primitive Culture" 4th ed. Vol. 1. p. 424.

† "The Ainu and their Folk Lore," p. 96.

‡ "This heart consists of a warm black cinder," bound to the stem, or body of the fetich. Op. cit. p. 97.

based on the essential connection which was imagined to exist between the ancestral image and its original.

It might be supposed that ancestral worship would be an antidote to anthropophagy, but a multitude of instances could be adduced to prove that the contrary was the case. Whatever view we may take of the origin of religion, we can scarcely doubt that human sacrifice had its initial motive in ancestor worship. The lingering of ritual anthropophagy after the cessation of general cannibalism, is explained by the desire to propitiate the ancestral ghosts by offering the diet which they best appreciated. The rigid conservatism of such rites and the history of their decline elsewhere, render it highly probable, though we cannot say certain, that ancestor worship was the ruling motive for the lingering of anthropophagy in Japan. *It is significant that most of the cannibal gods, throughout the world, have been either direct ancestral deities, or animal gods of totemistic character, in which case we may suspect their ancestral origin.* Though I believe it to be the case that all human sacrifice originated during the prevalence of cannibalism, this aspect of the sacrifice may have been lost sight of, after the expiry of ritual anthropophagy, and the idea of giving a slave to the service of the god has sometimes predominated over, or entirely ousted, that of sustenance. Cases of human sacrifice to elemental and other deities have occurred well within historic times both in Europe and Japan; in these the notion of nourishing the god had, in all probability, lapsed. I refer to sacrifices to the gods of rivers or of the soil, which have accompanied the foundation work of bridges, castles, etc. These have, at least within the last thousand years, been considered to be voluntary, but they can only be interpreted as survivals of compulsory human sacrifice.* The practice of living inhumation among the Yamato, was in vogue at the

* Public opinion, which condones, applauds, or instigates such sacrifice, or indeed any individual action, is an incentive to it, and according to its unanimity, (still recognised as "force"), detracts from the voluntary character of such action. The distinction between physical and moral compulsion is not always clear when historical instances of this nature are under consideration.

funerals of Emperors, and probably chiefs, till the time of Sui-nin Tenno (A.D. 3, according to the unreliable chronology of the Nihongi), when images of clay were substituted for the bodies of retainers.* The custom of suicide at the grave of a chief, however, known in later times as *Junshi*, persisted in some measure till the last century. It is legitimate to recognise in this the vestige of sacrifice and perhaps of anthropophagy.

In this connection it is important to notice the Ainu festival of the bear which includes the eating of its flesh and the drinking of its blood in its presence, and the offering of its substance to itself as the presiding deity of the occasion. In this case the god is represented by the ghost or manes of the deceased bear, still identified with the head or skull, *which continues afterwards to be its abode*. Before the mouth a portion of its flesh is placed, and offerings made of its boiled flesh, millet dumplings, some dried fish and the intoxicating beverage *sake*.† Mr. Batchelor is of opinion that the sacrifice is not piacular. It should be borne in mind, however, that, to the primitive mind, the sin of commission is less reprehensible than that of omission. There was no offence against the god that did not have its proper expiation, while neglect to propitiate the deity was fatal. In this sense all sacrifice is piacular. The idea that the god should undergo physical death for the benefit of mankind is well to the fore in this ceremony. The partaking of its flesh and the drinking of its blood by the worshippers is unquestionably an act of communion, and this aspect of it seems to have impressed Mr. Batchelor. He says "It is a mutual feast, and apparently a feast of friendship and kinship. The very essence of religion according to Ainu ideas (and how true the idea really is in this case‡) consists in communion

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* "Then he (the Emperor Sui-nin) sent down an order, saying 'from now and henceforward, be sure to set up these things of clay (cylinders and images of terracotta) at sepulchres, and let not men be slain.'" Passage from the Nihongi, translated by Sir Ernest Satow; "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. 8, part 3, p. 330.

† "The Ainu and their Folk Lore." p. 491.

‡ Ibid. p. 482. The parenthesis is Mr. Batchelor's.

with the greater powers; and unexpected though it may appear to us, the people imagine the most complete communion they can possibly hold with some of their gods, their animal and bird totems at all events, is by a visible and carnal partaking of their very flesh in sacrifice."

I have to suggest that this festival is a survival of ritual anthropophagy. It does not stand alone; it has its parallel in all places and times. Frazer in that deservedly much quoted book, "The Golden Bough," mentions similar practices with regard to the bear, the snake, the lamb, the buffalo, etc., and the learned author makes the following remark: "Such customs are only another form of that communion with the deity which is attained most completely by eating the body and drinking the blood of the god."*

Several considerations naturally occur to one in support of the view that this ceremony had its prototype in anthropophagy.

1.—That the bear is a very important totem god of the Ainu and regarded by many as an ancestor; also the belief that he sometimes assumes human form.

2.—That the young bear, which is reared for the sacrifice, is frequently suckled at the breast of the Ainu woman and treated as one of the family.

3.—That the Ainu still preserve the tradition of anthropophagy, and that folklore associates the primitive people with this practice, as a sacrifice.

4.—That we have evidence that the primitive people, whom I shall afterwards identify with the Ainu, indulged in restricted anthropophagy.

5.—The sacrifice of the racoon who is the "cook of the god of the mountains"† i.e. the bear as a divinity. The spirit of this animal is thus impressed into the service of the greater deity, just as human ghosts were similarly dispatched as slaves for the potent ancestral or other gods.

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* Op. cit. Vol. 2. p. 146.

† "The Ainu and their Folk lore" p. 469.

6.—That instances of commutation and transition in all lands, including Japan, suppport the belief that such customs do not perish suddenly, but leave behind a trail of modified ritual and folklore. The last proposition is important as a connecting link, and I therefore give a few instances out of a multitude that are known.

In ancient Rome bread, made in the shape of the god, and wine, the blood of the vine god, were partaken of as a religious ceremony, before the Christian era. At the temple of Artemis, the sister of Apollo, the bear and other wild animals were sacrificed as a substitute for a beautiful maid and youth, who more anciently still, had been offered to her. In the opinion of Mr. Lang, the goddess of the forest and of the chase may have been originally a bear.* In the Aztec rites, a youth was chosen and worshipped as a deity for a year, then slaughtered "with every token of respect," and eaten by the priests and chiefs. Yet, though thousands of victims were slain every year, the actual anthropophagy was confined to the chosen few. The great bulk of the population took communion with images of the gods though, according to Herbert Spencer, these images were sometimes cemented by the blood of sacrificed boys. "It is clear," he adds, "that the aim was to establish community with him (Huitzilopochtli, the chief god), by taking blood in common."† Tylor gives numerous instances of commutation and modification, and remarks with regard to the communion ceremony of the Christian church:—"In that Christianity was recruited among nations to whom the perception of sacrifice was among the deepest of religious ideas, and the ceremony of sacrifice among the sincerest efforts of worship, there arose an observance suited to supply the vacant place. This result was obtained not by new introduction, but by transmutation. The solemn eucharistic meal of the primitive Christians in time assumed the name of the sacrifice of the

* Myth, Ritual and Religion, Vol. 2. p. 433.

† Principles of Sociology 1—1, p. 281.

mass, and was adapted to a ceremonial in which an offering of food and drink is set out by a priest on an altar in a temple, and consumed by priest and worshippers."*

The combination of feast and sacrifice in the Ainu celebration, need occasion no misgiving. It has been customary in all cultures; the physical impossibillty of the ghost, or god, partaking of the repast offered to him, led to its being devoured by proxy. The savour, the smoke from burning, the smearing of the god or his precints with blood, or merely the sight of the offering was supposed to gratify his desire, while the actual sacrifice was often held to possess some special virtue in respect of its association with the deity. After cannibalism had long lapsed, human sacrifice surviving, the flesh was sometimes disguised with other meat, or was raised to the mouth and afterwards put aside. The substitution of the lower animals for human beings at once insured a food which was fairly acceptable to the god and could be shared without compunction by the worshippers. The question of actual priority need not detain us here; it is probable that animal is at least as primitive a food as human flesh, and though less appropriate as an offering in the initial stage of religion, regained its reputation when that stage was passed. We know, besides, that human imagination has invested, not only animal flesh, but bread and other material with the sanctity of the real presence, and continues to do so. In regarding the Ainu bear festival as a survival of anthropophagy, we assume that this idea has long perished from the minds of the Ainu, to whom the sacrifice and communion with their "dear little divinity" is all—sufficient at the present time.

In Japan, as elsewhere, primitive beliefs die hard and it is still a matter of current faith, among the less educated, that specific virtues inhere in the human body and may be utilised for special purposes. Thus the brain is supposed to be an unfailing remedy in syphilis, and injuries to the foramen magnum, observed in some of the exhumed Ainu skulls, are, as

* "Primitive Culture," Vol. 2. p.p. 409—410.

suggested by Professor Koganei, probably due to the extraction of the brain after burial, whether by the Ainu, themselves, or by the Japanese, is not quite settled. The bones of the cranium have a supposed efficacy with the superstitious. The flesh of the monkey is eaten for its strengthening virtues; a butcher's shop in Tokyo makes a speciality of it. The idea has, in all probability, arisen through its affinity to man. The liver of the bear is a reputed cure for painful affections of the stomach and bowels, while its grease is favourable to the healing of wounds. By association, the power of healing belongs also to tombstones: "a fragment of the Sankatsu sepulchre in Osaka, if powdered and drunk with water, cures consumption."*

It need scarcely be observed that these beliefs spring from a primitive stratum which existed all over the world, and that their survival supports the view that cannibalism has been universal. They suggest, moreover, that communion by anthropophagy is responsible for the reputation possessed by many of these remedies. Here are a few parallel instances outside Japan. Only a few centuries ago, human flesh was eaten in Europe for its supposed magical virtues. In China the liver of executed criminals is devoured through a desire to obtain their strength and courage. The human eye is believed to have special efficacy. Quite recently, powdered human skull was used in Lincolnshire, for the cure of epilepsy and in Ireland there is still existing a practice of "taking the clay or mould from the graves of priests and boiling it with milk as a decoction for the cure of disease."† The modern practice of organo-therapeutics gives a hint that in this, as in his doctrine of the transmutation of personality, primitive man was not so far astray in his reasoning, as he was limited in the scope of his available information.

It is highly probable that many of the *seki bo*, or stone clubs, met with in the primitive sites and occasionally in shrines and hallowed spots, were fetich. The latter bear this character

* "Japan, Its History, Arts and Literature," by Captain Brinkley Vol. 5 p. 207.

† "Ethnology in Folk Lore" by G. L. Gomme F. S. A., p. 114.

even now, and are resorted to by the ignorant and superstitious. Some of them are of considerable size, occasionally five feet in length, and are sometimes found buried upright in the soil. Monoliths, however, in the sense of huge upright pillars of undressed stone, are not a feature of Japan, at least I know of none.* Many of the *scki-bo* are provided with knobs, some of which are curiously ornamented, fig. 77, and some are distinctly of phallic design. Others appear to be anthropomorphic. I have seen several with the swastika, or cross design, the same being also found on the pottery.† Analogy with existing savage culture leads to the belief that some of the smaller stone rods were actual weapons; they may also have been wielded as insignia of authority.

Phallic worship was formerly in vogue among the common folk throughout Japan, and lingers still in remote districts in a fitful and surreptitious manner. It has been suggested that this cult is of mediæval origin, but I see no reason to doubt that it has survived from neolithic times. The *scki-bo* include some specimens suggesting the phallus; although I am doubtful whether these have mostly been derived from neolithic or from later sites there are sufficient specimens from the former sources to connect this cult with the primitive culture.

With regard to this cult among the Yamato, Mr. Aston mentions the conjecture of the scholar Hirata, that the *Tama-boko* or jewel spear of the ancient classics, which was instrumental in producing the island of Onogoro (lit. "self curdling"),‡ was in the form of a *Wo-bashira*, or "male pillar."§ This design of pillar is often seen in Japan, and indeed elsewhere. The specimen, No. 14, fig. 77, resembles such a pillar.

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* There is mention in the Nihongi, of a monolith which may be worth quoting. "On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness." Aston's Translation, Vol. I. p. 195.

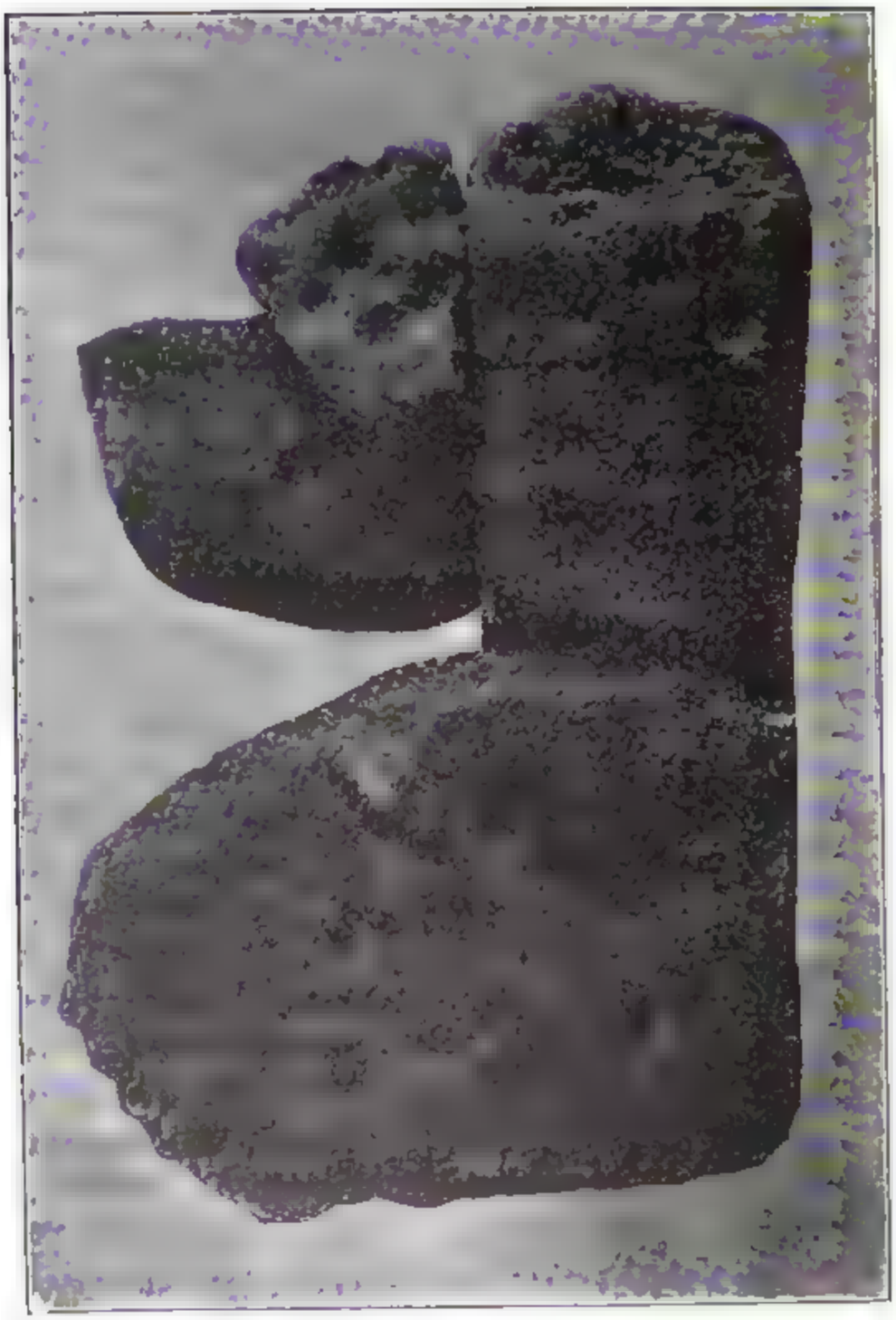
† Also on the Ainu implements of carved wood and bone.

‡ "Kojiki," translated by Professor Chamberlain, p. 19. "The brine that dripped from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island."

§ "Nihongi"; Aston's translation, Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society. Vol. I. p. 11.

Some of the stone clubs are pitted with depressions of various depths, the meaning of which is obscure. These holes occur in other stones. Some of them might have been intended to steady the butt of a drill while the point was making a hole, or producing fire, but this is doubtful. In fig. 78, several pitted stones are seen. No. 1 is a nondescript

Fig. 78.



Pitted Stones. (½ size).

stone with incised and drilled excavations, No. 2 is a fragment of a mortar, No. 3 a piece of dressed stone with holes drilled like that of No. 2, No. 4 is a piece of a *seki-bo* with numerous holes of a similar description. It would be rash to attempt a positive explanation of these. It is not unlikely that they were sometimes used to hold nuts while cracking them. This prosaic explanation comes from America and has been adopted by several Japanese investigators. One may suggest that they were sometimes connected with a religious motive. The fact that they are found on various objects does not negative this hypothesis; utensils are frequently treated in the primitive life as fetich, and receive reward or punishment. Still, I do not regard this as other than a suggestion, more or less plausible. Large fixed boulders, pitted to serve as receptaculi of the god, possibly as altars, are found in several parts of Japan. It is not impossible that some of the small holes have been drilled to serve as a reminder, or quipus, but some softer material, such as wood, cord, or textile, would seem to be more appropriate. Another explanation occurred to me which I doubtfully give for what it is worth. It is that *seki-bo*, were originally not of stone but of wood and might have been instrumental in the production of fire. The carving on the knobs of some of these stone clubs looks as if it had been designed in wood and afterwards copied on stone.* Nor is it improbable that wooden rods or clubs co-existed with those of the more durable material. Were this the case, we might have a clue to the meaning of these depressions on the stone clubs, perhaps also on the blocks and utensils; for so imperative is habit, especially to the primitive mind, that a stone club modelled after one of wood which was, let us suppose, dimpled by the fire drill, would seem incomplete without the accustomed depressions. On the other hand many of the larger and most, if not all, of the small *seki-bo* are not pitted. These speculations, I fear, are rather visionary,

* Some, particularly those of chlorite schist have natural markings similar to those of wood.

but at least they may serve as suggestions for further investigation. In favour, possibly, of the idea that the holes were for offerings to the fetich, is the custom of bespattering the Ni-Ō with paper that has been chewed into a pulp. The Ni-Ō are terrific looking images, set up at the entrance gates of some temples to act as guardians, but they also have an intermediary function. They act between the gods and men and may be approached by the latter in sickness or distress. It is considered a good omen if the masticated paper adheres to the body of the Ni-Ō. Whether this is done with the object of keeping his attention fixed on the request for help, or of transferring some sickness from a sufferer to his ample frame, I do not know. This custom may occasionally be traced on other images and even on the walls of shrines, so that it is probably a relic of primitive religion. It may, perhaps, be comparable to the smearing of images and sacred stones with blood (red paint in recent times) or the placing of rice or other nutriment in their depressions.

No instance of grave burial has yet been elicited in connection with the primitive culture of Japan, but it is not unlikely that, at least towards the north where less archaic stages are to be looked for, such will prove to have been the case. The Ainu bury their dead away from their settlements, in the recesses of the forests, and that rather superficially, so that they are apt to be disturbed by animals. If grave burial proves to have taken place in the neolithic period, we may anticipate that utensils broken or otherwise, accompanied the deceased; this should lead to their identification. The Ainu bury their dead with broken utensils, an expedient frequently adopted in this stage of culture. Breaking destroys the life of the utensil; thus it attains to the spiritual status of the deceased and is available for his service.

The Ainu say that in former times the hut in which an old woman died was burned down, to prevent the spirit from returning and doing mischief to her surviving relatives. Mr.

Batchelor, cannot believe that this can be the real reason,* but it is the reason given by all primitive people who adopt this course, and is, from their point of view, most natural and correct. It is in the highest degree likely that the custom of house burial is connected with this superstition. In my excavations, two skeletons were found lying on the ashes of the primitive hearth, but these were not burned, nor were any of the bones which I recovered. Two skulls were also found in the same positions. According to Batchelor, the very aged are set apart in a separate hut of small dimensions, which is burned on the decease of its occupant.

The custom of isolating the aged parent also prevails among the Japanese, but here the motive appears to be to secure a peaceful nook for honoured age, whatever its origin may have been. The habit of changing the palaces of Emperors in olden times, on the death of a reigning sovereign, is probably a survival of a primitive dread of newly elevated ghosts. Do not we, Europeans, however philosophical or materialistic, have an instinctive dislike of the death chamber? And among the ignorant or imaginative are there many who care to sleep in a room immediately after the decease of its occupant? If it were permissible to talk about religious instinct, there is nothing so widespread and deep rooted in humanity, in this aspect of its character, as this dislike and fear which we have inherited from a primitive ancestry. There is nothing more suggestive of the common basis from which all religious belief has sprung.

ART AND RECREATION.

One cannot always draw a line between the two; dancing is an example. For the purpose of this sketch they may be

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* "The Ainu and their Folk Lore," p. 131.

taken together. In early states of society, even more than in modern times, the decoration of the person was an object of much solicitude. On the clay images and masks of the primitive culture, decoration resembling tattooing is found. Whether the facial decoration was copied from tattooing or from face painting is undetermined, but the balance of probability is perhaps in favour of tattooing. It is almost certain that face painting was also adopted on special occasions. It was practiced by the Yamato: their clay images remain to prove it;* it survives in the red, white and black face painting of children and young adults at various festivals (*Matsuri*). Until the Meiji era, court nobles affected two spots of black pigment on the forehead.

In the Nihongi a speech is given, which is said to have been delivered by Takechi-no-sukune to the Emperor Keiko. "In the Eastern wilds there is a country called Hitakami. The people of this country, both men and women, tie up their hair in the form of a mallet and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover their land is wide and fertile. We should attack them and take it."† This land was the Kwanto. This speech, though probably framed long after its supposed deliverance, proves that tattooing was well established before the end of the 7th century.

An illustrated manuscript, previously referred to, contains the picture of a human clay figure, found at Tobetsu, near Hakodate in 1799. This was identified by an Ainu, at the time of its discovery, as a "divine figure," and the marks on the upper lip were recognised by this person as tattooing. It is common knowledge that the Ainu women are tattooed on the upper and sometimes lower lip, frequently in the form of a

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* The faces are sometimes decorated with red pigment.

† Aston, Nihongi, Vol. 1. p. 200.

moustache.* This was apparently a protective mimicry of the male sex, adopted presumably in the days when the females found favour in the eyes of the Yamato conquerors. Tattooing of the face was conceivably practiced before the Yamato invasion and modified as described. It may have been found that females thus decorated were less sought after by the Yamato males. Tattooing of the hand and forearm is now less practiced ; indeed the custom has dwindled to a fraction of its former extent and will soon be a thing of the past. In Yezo, education and official discouragement, and in the northern Kuriles religious pressure, are causing the disappearance of this primitive custom. The records of Wei (A.D. 220-265), mention that in Japan "The men, both small and great, tattoo their faces and work designs on their bodies."† It is probable that this refers to the Yamato, or to those aborigines who came under their rule, as the south-western districts of Japan, which were accessible to Chinese visitors, must have been well under the control of the Yamato at this date. The statement may be erroneous, but the records show such an intimate acquaintance with special features which we know to have been correct, that one is inclined to give some credence to it.

In the Later Han writings the "black toothed country"

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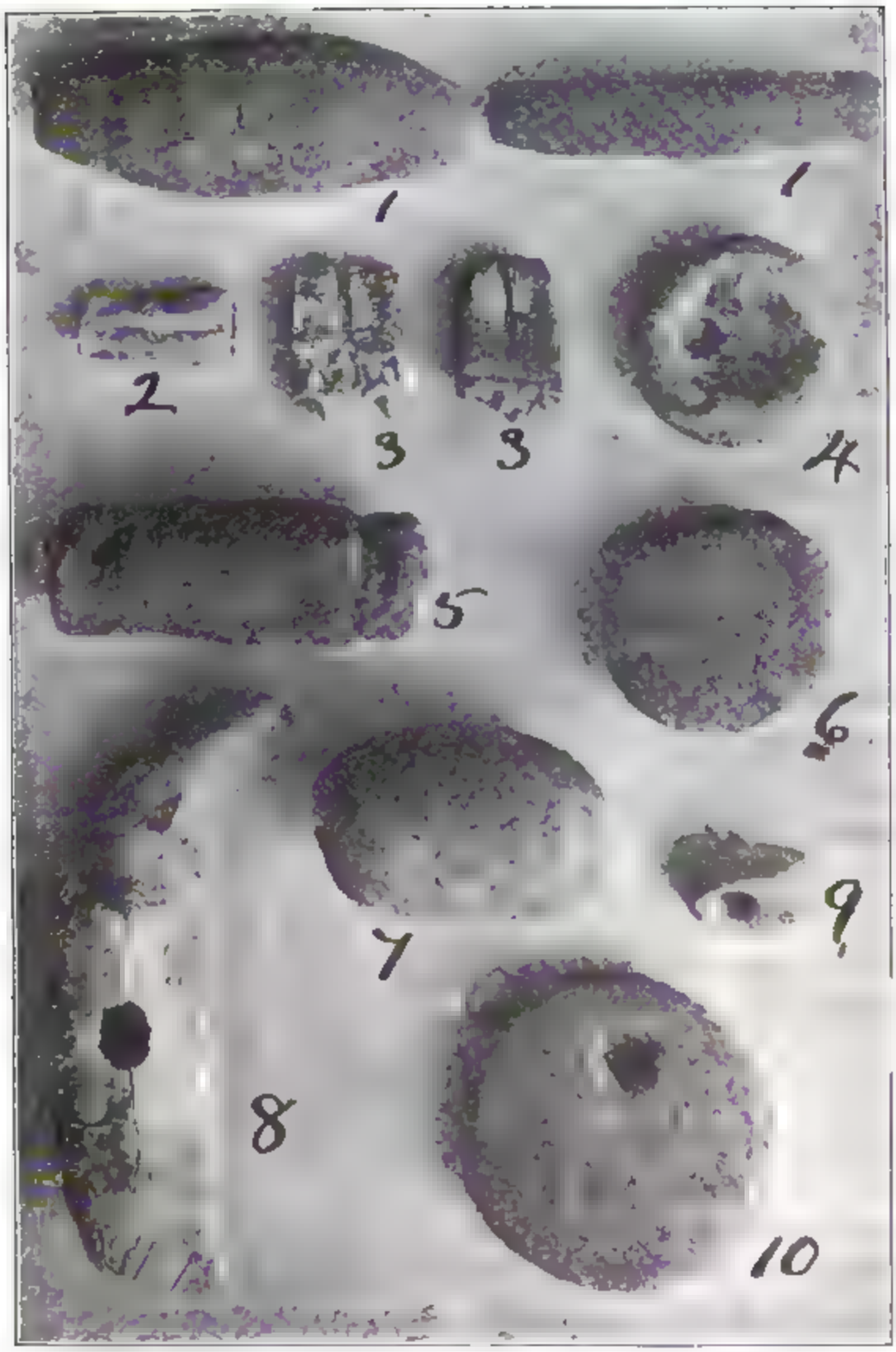
* According to Tsuboi (Anthrop. Mag. Tokyo No. 90) the Ainu men are occasionally tattooed between the left thumb and forefinger in the form of an × or with a somewhat similar design on the shoulder. Mr. K. Miyajima (Ibid, No. 91) mentions the tattooing of the Luchu Islanders. The patterns here are different from those of the Ainu and both sexes are tattooed. This is done with needles whereas the hand and forearm of the Ainu woman are incised with a sharp knife. Here the lines are naturally straight, a curve in the pattern being infrequent. This is an instance of the dependence of the design on the material and implement of the artizan.

† "Early Japanese History" by W. G. Aston. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 16, p. 57.

In figure 80, the objects, with the exception of No. 6, were apparently intended for suspension to the person. No. 1 represents beads. It is possible, however, that they were weights for line fishing. The hook in connection with the latter has already been referred to. Nos. 2 and 3 are decorated with vermilion. The first is a bead of bone, the two latter, portions of a jawbone with the teeth attached. No. 4 is evidently a button and Nos. 9 and 10 might also have served this purpose. No. 5 appears to have been the leg of a clay image, perforated for suspension, possibly as an amulet. If so, it was doubtless as effective as any canonised bone. No. 6 is a disc of earthenware, cut from a potsherd, and finished by rubbing; I have obtained a number of these from my excavations. They may have been used as counters in some game, or as a primitive abacus. Similar discs have been found in the United States. The suggestion of Professor Morse that possibly the plaques of pottery occurring in the sites, might have been used in a game like quoits has already been mentioned. No. 7 is evidently a bead, possibly used as a buckle. Perhaps the perforated tusk, No. 8, was also used for fastening the loop of a garment or pouch. In fig. 81, are illustrated various perforations of the oyster shell, probably for ornament by suspension or attachment to the dress, and a *Cyclina* containing vermilion. The latter are fairly common in the upper layers of my excavations, though pottery decorated with this colouring agent is rather more frequent in the lower deposits, perhaps a coincidence.

In digging among the shells of these sites I have noticed that many of the bivalves are closed. In several of them I found a small shell within the larger and on one occasion met with a *kishago* or whelk within a *Cyclina* which was enclosed within a larger specimen of the same genus. The *kishago* is a favourite plaything in games of make believe amongst Japanese children; one is compelled to believe that these shells did not come into this relation by accident.

Fig. 80.

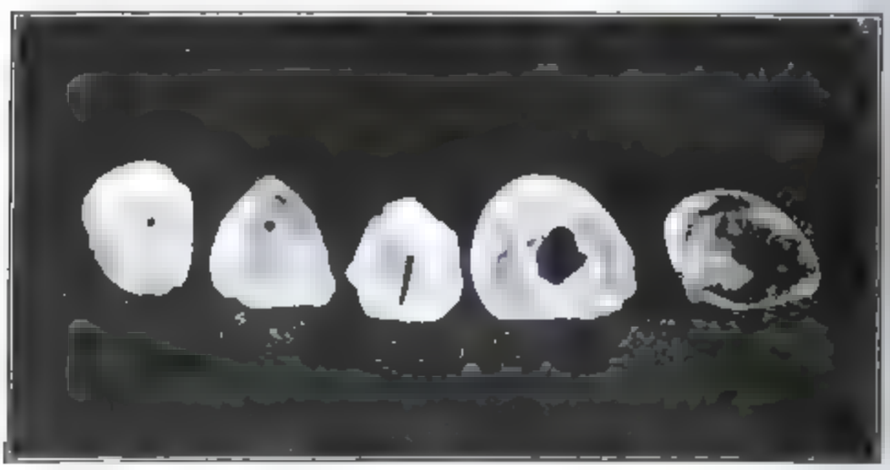


Beads and other ornaments. Nos. 4, 9 and 10 are probably buttons. No. 6, possibly a counter.

Music and dancing must have been included in the life cycle of the primitive folk. The drums, and what other musical instruments they possessed, have gone, as well as the original masks with which they affected to change personality, in the religious or social drama.

One or two stones perforated by the *Pholas* have been found in the shellheaps and are capable of giving two flutelike notes. The possibility that sounding stones were known has been already hinted.

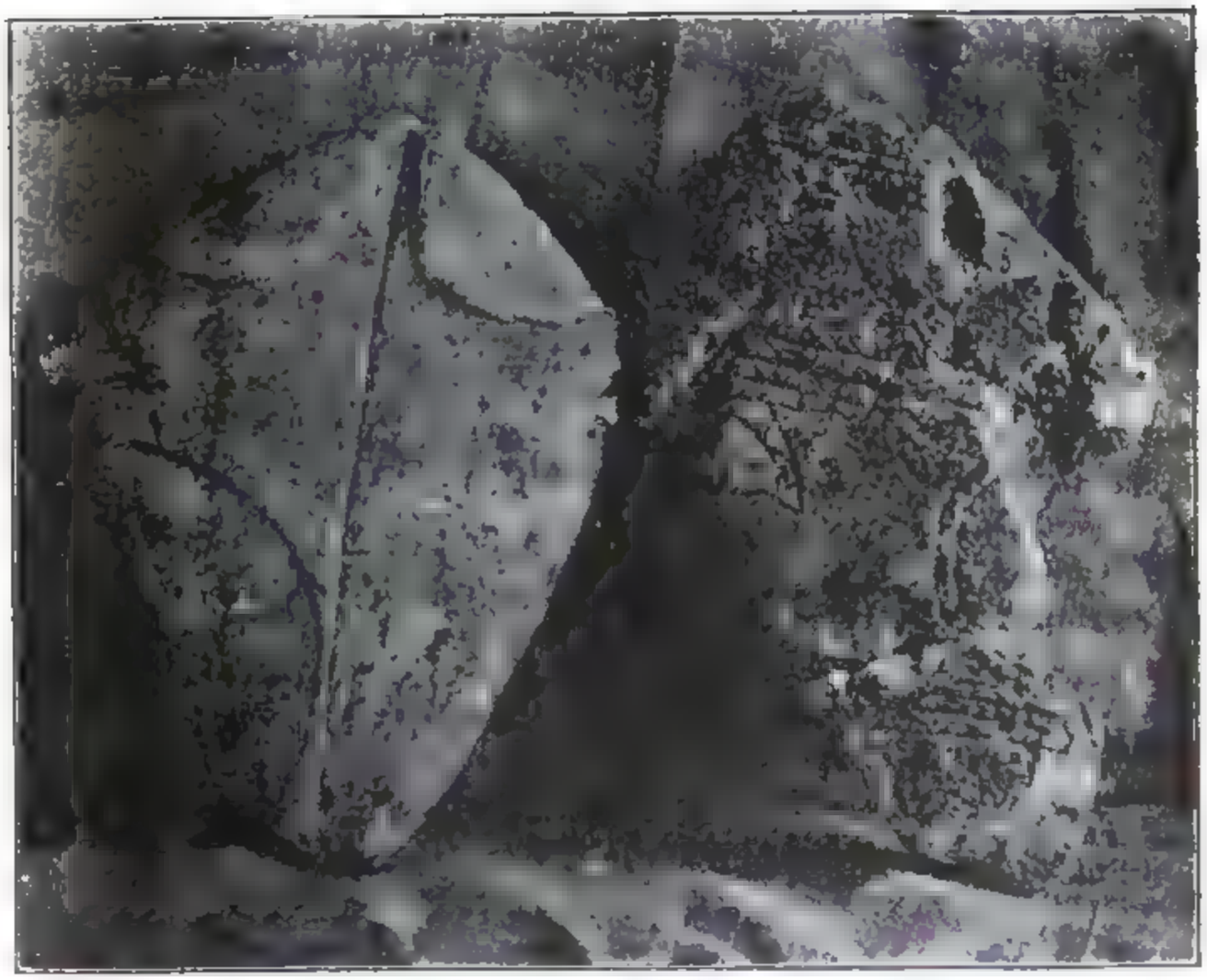
Fig. 81.



Perforated bone or shell probably for personal ornament, and a Cyclina containing vermilion

The decoration and even the finish of weapons, implements and utensils, and especially of pottery, enhanced the pleasure of possession and ministered to recreation and sometimes religion. It remains to say that decoration of stone, though rare, is known, apart from its utilitarian associations. Perhaps the two specimens shown in fig. 82, one evidently a frog concept and the other suggesting a human figure, were fetich. No. 2 was taken from my excavation at Mitsusawa. It closely resembles the carving on the back of some of the clay images. The decoration of the *seki-bo* has been illustrated. Several axes and other stone objects have been found with an attempt at decoration, but these are far from common.

Fig. 82.



Carved stones. (Full size).

THE RETREAT OF THE PRIMITIVE CULTURE.

We have seen that the primitive culture has left a large proportion of remains to the north of Ise-Ōmi, but comparatively few to the southwest thereof. Adding to the figures published in 1900 a number of sites since recorded, I find that there are, in round numbers, nearly 4,000 sites to the north of this line,* and a little over two hundred to the south of it; nearly 20 fold as many. Taking the areas represented, and working out the proportion to each 100 sq. *ri* of territory, we find, as

* See the map.

previously stated, a rough correspondence of 24 sites to the 100 sq. *ri*, on the one side, and only about 4 to the same area on the other. The fact that archæological research is keener in the Kwanto and northern provinces must be taken into account in this connection, but on the other hand, archæological surveys in the southwest have given little encouragement to further investigation. Knowing the ideal conditions existing in the southwest, we are led to the conclusion that a primitive culture did have a congenial habitat in these regions. We know that the Ainu have left their place names in this portion of the country, that shellmounds are scarce in proportion to the number of primitive sites and that the relics of this culture are, on the whole, cruder than those to the north of the Ise-Ōmi line.

How much must be allowed for the destruction of sites through agricultural operations, it is impossible to say. It is beyond question that the ancestors of the modern Japanese occupied the southwest for a greatly longer time than the northeast. The legends and historical data point conclusively to this, as will presently appear. While the absence of shell-mounds might favour the view of a different culture, there is still stronger evidence of its continuity.* The disappearance of these sites probably suggests rather that prolonged tillage of the soil has destroyed the vestiges of primitive man.

A glance at the map assures us that, although there are patches of fairly condensed areas of primitive culture in the southwest, the Ise-Ōmi line is the boundary of a numerically different series of neolithic sites. The provinces of Suruga and Kai, adjoining the Kwanto, and Etchu, on the northwest coast, have under five sites to the 100 *ri*; in the former two, however, the precipitous nature of the Fujikawa valley may have discouraged the primitive culture. Etchu, which faces the inhospitable north, has, according to the returns of 1900, less than five sites to the 100 *ri*. Kotsuke has also comparatively

* Though not necessarily of racial identity.

few, but since the returns were published five years ago, some 25 extra sites have been recorded in this province and there are still more not yet published. The plains of the Kwanto furnish by far the most extensive unbroken area available to the primitive culture in Japan. The map (Appendix A) shows the concentration that has taken place in this region, the aggregate of a densely peopled or prolonged cycle of human activity. One might almost conclude from the map, that in ancient times the country had been divided for an exceedingly lengthened period into two political and cultural areas, in one of which the neolithic phase held its own, while in the other it had been driven from the field. If, in the latter, it had been inhibited in its growth, or if its vestiges have been destroyed, by an alien culture utilising agriculture as its principal means of subsistence, we are not altogether deprived of some hint as to its antiquity. If suppressed before it had attained to anything like the extent exhibited in the northeastern section, the antiquity of its arrest will be proportionate to the disparity of remains in the two sections. If due to the destruction of sites by land cultivation after they had reached a certain density, the interval occupied in this dispersal must still be gauged, however imperfectly, by a comparison with those still extant in the two sections. The greater the stress laid on either of the two above factors, the greater must be the interval during which they were operative. In other words, it needs some explanation other than that of arrest or destruction of sites to disturb the conviction that a remote antiquity separates the few relics of the southwest from the numerous finds of the northeast. In this interval of time there was room, not only for an iron culture to spread, but to evolve from its crudest beginnings.

We have seen that not only the primitive people, but one which is regarded as the more direct and legitimate source of the present Japanese, namely the Yamato, have left remains in Japan. One culture possessed implements and weapons

of stone, the other of iron. The primitive culture disappeared from the preferable habitat in the southwest. It might be suggested that this was occasioned by the scarcity of food, such as shellfish, but this may be put aside. Shellfish formed a convenient food, and therefore the settlements are most numerous in the neighbourhood of the sea. But the supply of shellfish was not exhausted*; nor is it likely that the exigencies of a primitive agriculture drove them to seek fresh fields. Apart from some doubt as to the existence of hoe cultivation, it is far from probable that a people indulging so extensively in the sedentary art of pottery-making should be on the move with the object of breaking fresh ground. The latter supposition also, would still leave unexplained the migration to the mountainous and forest covered interior. We may take it that it was not the exhaustion, but the prohibition of sustenance that compelled this movement. There is overwhelming testimony indeed, that this withdrawal was the result of hostile contact with the Yamato, to whom the possession of the seaboard with its fisheries and alluvial soil, was of paramount importance. I propose to review these relations so far as the material at present extends, not with the object of proving what may seem to many an obvious connection, but in the hope that we may be able to gather at least some inkling as to the antiquity of the primitive people and to trace, if not the beginning, at least the beginning of the end of the earlier culture, and the cause of its decay.

On the threshold of this enquiry we are met by the consideration which I have previously referred to i.e., whether the evidence of a bronze culture in the southwest does not negative the claim of the Yamato to be *ab initio*, the cause of the primitive retreat. This question must remain unanswered for the present. But if an alien race had visited this land before

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* It would appear, however, that shellfish are not quite so abundant in some districts of the southwest section as, for instance, in the Kwanto.

the incursion of the Yamato, a people using bronze weapons, they could not have been entirely emancipated from the stone culture, because one is known to have always overlapped the other, and the bronze weapons, etc., found outside of the Yamato tombs are neither varied nor numerous. Besides, there can be no doubt that these elements, if separate at first, amalgamated politically and socially and may be taken as one factor. It is also certain that such a consideration would not greatly affect a computation based on the disparity of sites in the two sections above mentioned. As a provisional hypothesis, which is not without support from archæological findings and the survival of traditions from early times, I propose to consider the bronze culture as an early stage of the Yamato civilisation. I hope to demonstrate some relations between the primitive culture and its successor, and to show that for many centuries there were distinct countries in the Japanese Islands, divided by the natural barrier of mountains to the north of Ōmi and Ise. One country was under the control of the Yamato hegemony, doubtless a loose and sometimes uncertain association. The other was held by a congeries of tribes, mainly, perhaps, of one race. What are now the provinces of Echizen, Mino, Ōwari and Mikawa (or parts of them) might have been a debatable land for some considerable time. The primitive culture in the Southwest had probably succumbed five or six centuries, if not earlier, previous to the advance of the Yamato on the Kwanto.

In pursuit of this object, I shall bring to notice :

1.—Certain legends, historical or quasi-historical statements from the Japanese ancient classics, and contemporary notices about Japan from Chinese and Corean sources.

2.—The incidence of the Yamato and primitive sites in Japan.

3.—Other archæological evidence bearing on the question.

I.—LEGENDARY AND HISTORICAL.

There are some references in the ancient classics to the primitive inhabitants, which deserve notice. The Kojiki has no chronology and that of the Nihongi, so far as it relates to events before the 6th century at least, is a later graft from China and therefore a mere guesswork of the time at which the latter work was written (720 A.D.). Nor can we regard the most sober statements of the *earlier* portions of the Kojiki and Nihongi as proof positive that the events took place as related. The narrative of events occurring before the introduction of writing has small value in the eyes of the modern scholar, except as indicating certain matters for future corroboration by other research. If the tale of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table could have taken definite form in English history, long after the art of writing was known, there is surely room for scepticism here. Even in the historical period proper, the speeches placed in the mouths of kings and other prominent persons must be regarded as a poetic license inherited from the days of the eastern saga.* On the other hand, it is impossible to be certain that much of the quasi-historical matter is not founded on fact. Even statements reaching us from a more distant and unveracious past may be accepted in general outline, if they tally with the archæological evidence available. The extent to which the correspondence goes must be our measure of their veracity. I venture to think that this correspondence will be found sufficiently close to support the general trend of events during the prehistoric occupation of Japan by the Yamato, and in some cases to extend to matters of detail.

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* Not unknown in European history. "Machiavelli and Guicciardini, in imitation of Livy and Thucydides, composed speeches for their historical personages." Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay, 1897 ed.

Kyushu, Izumo, Yamato and the region now known as the Kwanto, are specifically referred to in the Kojiki and Nihongi. With regard to the first two places, there is some indication of a division of authority, possibly a reference to racial as well as political separation; unification, however, was accomplished and maintained, with but slight interruption, into historic times. With respect to the movement on Yamato under the personage known in recent times as Jimmu Tenno, it may be supposed that such an advance took place at a very early period of the invasion. Whether this enterprise took place under a single personality, the "Divine Yamato Ihare Prince" (Ihare, a place in Yamato. *Aston*), whose personal name was Hiko-Hoho-Demi, or under more than one leader, during more than one generation, there is little doubt that the expedition was conducted against the primitive inhabitants. Chamberlain derives Yamato from an Ainu word and Aston while not conceding this,* agrees that the expedition was probably directed against the Ainu.

According to the Nihongi, there was no advance to the east for 650 years after the conquest of Yamato, the supposed interval being occupied with domestic affairs, regulation of the ancestral cult (Nihongi) and "subduing and pacifying the savage deities† and extirpating the unsubmissive people" (Kojiki). It is probable enough that a considerable hiatus existed between the conquest of Yamato and the Eastern movement, and that the editors of the Nihongi in filling in a period of 650 years with a series of personalities of impossible longevity, felt the necessity of "marking time."

In the legends of Jimmu Tenno, we first hear of the *Tsuchi-gumo*, or "earth spiders," as they were supposed to have

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* Aston remarks that the word Yamato, also a place name in Chikugo province, is an instance "where the Ainu derivation is surely out of place." Other Ainu names, however, are found in Kyushu.

† See "Ethnology in Folk Lore," by G. L. Gomme, F.S.A., for information about the mingled contempt and superstitious fear inspired by the aborigines (pp. 42-7), due to the imputed influence of the latter with the local deities.

been nicknamed, till recent etymology traced the phrase to *Tsuchi·gomori*, or "earth hiders." Aston points out that these words have the same root, the spider being the "hider" instead of the "spinner" in Japan. This word can refer to nothing but pit-dwellers. In a note on the provincial records of Settsu, it is said "When the sovereign (Jimmu Tenno) was ruling in the palace of Kashibara, there was a rascal named Tsuchigumo, who lived always underground, so the sovereign gave him the degraded name "Tsuchigumo." In the case of the surviving pit dwellings of Japan, inhabited by the survivors of the former pariah or outcasts, (the Eta) the small hole-like doorway would tend to suggest the conception, "earth hider." We are told in the classics that the "Tsuchigumo" were invited to partake of the hospitality of the Yamato chiefs (in a *muro*) and treacherously murdered at their meal. The tradition, if not founded on a specific incident, at least betrays the attitude *vis a vis* the "native," prevailing at the time when the Kojiki was written. An old song associated with this occasion in the Nihongi, makes a rather pathetic reference to their courage :

Though folk say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for over one hundred men
They do not so much as resist.

In this legend there is a quaint reference to "mallet headed swords" and "stone mallets." It is possible that the rank and file of the Yamato were using stone weapons at the time in question.* The persistence of stone models in the Yamato tombs probably signifies that the stone phase was not so very remote.

With Jimmu Tenno the Tsukushi (Kyushu), Izumo and Yamato legends reach their climax, though there are one or two oscillations backward to Kyushu at later times. It is im-

* Stone weapons were used in England at the battle of Hastings and probably later.

portant to observe that these three "legendary cycles," as Chamberlain calls them, cohere in a manner which suggests an association based on a considerable antiquity, while the mythology and tradition interwoven with the references to these three centres have the appearance of having been evolved, for the most part, within the southwest area which is bounded by the Ise-Ōmi line. This is in keeping with the view which I advance, that somewhere about this line, the Yamato were held in check by the primitive people for many centuries, during which the former were extending their agricultural operations throughout the occupied territory, augmenting their population, consolidating their authority and gathering strength for the advance to the east and north. Of the two contending populations, each was holding the other more or less stationary without its boundary for centuries, the one representing a primitive culture, yet developing its resources in the east and north, the other, having reached the barbaric stage, was holding in the south and west the gateways of communication with the civilisation of the Asiatic continent.

An outbreak in Kyushu, during the reign of Keiko Tenno, was suppressed by his son, named according to the "Records" and "Chronicles," Wo-Usu, or Yamatodake, "The bravest in Yamato." This was followed by the famous expedition into the Kwanto, a movement upon which hung the destiny of the primitive culture. I have already remarked upon the relatively large number of primitive sites in the mountainous regions of Hida and Shinano, which formed a barrier against the northern advance of the Yamato and which probably gave part of Mino and Mikawa as a "sphere of influence" to the primitive people. Safe for a time in their mountain recesses, they held back the Yamato, and might have done so much longer but for the movement into the plains of the Kwanto, which turned their flank and forced a retreat towards the north. According to the Nihongi, this movement did not take place till 110 A.D., about 600 years before the issue of the Kojiki. This must

be a guess but it is probably within a century, or so, of the actual date.

While in the south the aborigines are referred to as "Tsuchigumo," "Kumaso"* and, later, "Hayato," in the Kwanto they are called "Yemishi" or "Yezo," "barbarians." This distinction is not without some significance, for the three former titles infer no such superiority on the part of the Yamato as is implied in the latter. This is consistent with the view that a wide interval of time and culture separated the periods at which these terms came into being.

The exploits of Yamato-dake in Sagami, Hitachi and Shinano are specially interesting on account of the close incidence of the Yamato and primitive sites in these provinces. They are probably reminiscent of important movements in the Kwanto, in which legend is linked to the ancient vestiges of these cultures. The valleys leading up to the mountains of Shinano and Hida formed the key to the position held north of the Ise-Ōmi line. Through these passes Yamato-dake, or some other commander, drove a wedge into the side of the primitive position. It may be said that the mastery of the Kwanto sealed the doom of the Yemishi or Yezo. At that time this extensive and fertile region might have contained, and given employment to, the total Yamato population. The density of the primitive sites shows how important to that culture this position was. No other sea-girt plain approached it in size and from this region northward, no mountain barrier offered sufficient protection against the horse and foot of the Yamato.

Before turning to the notices about Japan from outside sources, it may be well to give a description of the Yezo or Yemishi, which the Nihongi puts in the mouth of the Emperor Keiko. Its interest lies in the fact that it contains current opinions about the Yezo at the commencement of the 8th century.

"The Yemishi have rebelled to a man and frequently

* See section on "The Primitive People."

carry off the people. Whom shall we send to still this disturbance?.....We hear that the Eastern savages are of a violent disposition and are much given to oppression: their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory and they plunder one another. Moreover there are in the mountains malignant deities, on the moors there are malicious demons, who beset the highways and bar the roads, causing men much annoyance. *Amongst these Eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful:** their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes, in the summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs and they drink blood. Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like flying birds: in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favour they forget it, but if an injury is done they never fail to revenge it. Therefore they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords in their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier, At other times they take the opportunity of harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage: if pursued, they flee to the mountains. Therefore ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilising influences."

Some interesting information about early Japan may be gathered from the "I-sho-Nihon-den," a record of foreign opinions about Japan, collected by Mr. Matsushita Kenrin and now edited by Mr. Kondo Heijo. Some portions of these were translated by Mr. Aston and placed before this Society in 1887: I shall take the liberty of recalling them to mind. Though some of the details are improbable, there is an intimacy with features peculiarly Japanese, which proves that opportuni-

* This passage, which I have italicised, has been held to support the theory that there were other eastern savages besides the Yezo. The great critic Motoori, however, looked sceptically on this speech and it has been condemned by all European scholars. Mr. Aston describes it as a "cento of reminiscences of Chinese literature." Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, Supplement Vol. 1, p. 204. There are several tribes of Ainu at the present day.

ties for observation had been enjoyed by the writers, or their informants.

According to Han Kwa, in the "To-i-ritsu-den" of the later Han (A.D. 25-220), Japan was at that time divided into more than a hundred provinces, of which thirty were in communication with the Han authorities in Corea. The latter provinces were said to have had hereditary rulers, but it is expressly stated that the king of "Great Wa" lived in Yamato. It seems to be certain that the Yamato were then established in the region from which they got their name; further that at least a nominal sovereignty prevailed south west of this district. In the records of Wei, about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., mention is made of 80,000 houses in one district and 70,000 in another, but some allowance must be made for exaggeration. The "Country of Yamato" is under the rule of a queen called Himeko; to the east lies the country of Konu, whose king is quarrelling with his Yamato neighbour. Mr. Aston points out that "Himeko" is simply "princess." I shall return to this later, but it may be stated here that this "Princess" has been supposed to be the Jingo Kogu of Japanese tradition, whose deeds of valour are associated with Kyushu and Corea rather than with the Yamato province proper.

Turning to the Corean records, Mr. Aston stated that Japanese descents on the coast are mentioned in the Scilla annals under the dates, A.D. 14, 73, and 121.

If these accounts are reliable, it follows that Japan had acquired by the 3rd century A.D. an organisation of culture and political life that must have taken many centuries to elaborate. If she was sufficiently strong to attack the Corean coast by A.D. 14, it is probable that the process of settlement and amalgamation in the southwest, was far advanced. According to Mr. E. H. Parker, the Japanese, prior to the 1st century B. C., occupied the "tip of the Corean peninsula, as well as the southern half of the Japanese islands."*

* "China, her History, Diplomacy and Commerce," p. 21.

II.—INCIDENCE OF YAMATO AND PRIMITIVE SITES.

I have prepared a chart showing a division into three areas, not too disproportioned in size, which correspond to certain archæological and historical considerations as will presently be seen. It may be objected that a chart based on a preconceived idea is apt to be misleading, and that other results might appear were it otherwise arranged. To this I can only reply that all investigation must proceed on the lines of certain assumptions, that it conforms to some preconceived speculation, which derives support, or otherwise, according to the results attained. This chart, which does not do more than record certain facts and display them in their approximate relationship is based upon returns of the Yamato tombs throughout Japan, published by the Imperial University in 1902, and of primitive sites published in 1900. These figures are liable to change, though not perhaps to a very great extent. It cannot, however, be too emphatically stated that the information thus conveyed is by no means final. The impossibility of entire accuracy is further accentuated by the fact that the Yamato sites are tombs, or groups of tombs, of which the exact numbers are not always given. The neolithic sites were places of residence. The former show approximately where the Yamato people died, the latter where the primitive people lived. Lastly, the incidence of these sites in any one locality is merely territorial. It gives us a spatial, but not a time relation of these cultures. It does not tell us whether they coexisted at all. Fortunately we have other information which gives a fixed point from which the meeting of the two cultures may be surveyed.

An inscription on stone, at the castle of Taga, near Sendai, dating from A.D. 762, was translated by Mr. Aston and read at a meeting of this Society in 1879. The inscription states

that the castle was 120 *ri* from the frontier of Yezo, and 1,500 *ri* from the capital. The name "Yezo" did not refer to the island now known as such, nor to any place, but to the savages or barbarians, in other words, to the primitive inhabitants The expression "frontier of Yezo" meant the border of Yezo land, though the name has come to be synonymous with their territory. Mr. Aston explained that the *ri* in question were not the same as the present *ri*, but were of the length of 6 *cho*, so that at the time referred to, the border of Yezo must have been about fifty miles north of Sendai.

The most northerly dolmen of the Yamato is to the south of Sendai, in the neighbouring province of Uzen. As dolmen building ceased about the beginning of the 8th century, in the reign of the Emperor Monmu, we may put it in round terms, that in the beginning of the 8th century, the sway of the Yamato had extended to the 38th degree of north latitude. The early years of this century enclosed the period of Wado, which produced the Kojiki. When the first Japanese history was completed, the primitive people still held the country north of the 38th parallel. Although no dolmen has been found north of this, the lesser sepulchres of the Yamato, in the forms of caves and mounds, extend as far as Rikuoku (Mutsu) province. These, of course, must be subsequent to the 7th century. How long burial in caves survived the advent of Buddhism I do not know, but this general custom almost certainly ceased before the 12th century, though a few isolated cases have occurred at a later date. From the beginning of the 8th century, nearly a thousand years were occupied in driving back the Yezo into the interior of the island which now bears their name. It is true that the town of Usu, now Hakodate, was occupied previous to the 16th century, but it was not till the 17th century that even the southern portion of the island was held in anything like subjection. During this interval, the old order of things Yamato passed away and the tombs of their early culture disappeared.

On the chart, (Appendix A) I have divided the areas for incidence as follows. The first (A.) includes Kyushu, Shikoku and the main island (Honshu) as far as the Ise-Ōmi line. The second (B.) extends from thence to the 38th deg. and the third (C.) to the north of Yezo (Hokkaido). The numbers on the chart, indicating the areas give (when multiplied by 1000) approximately the amount of square *ri* in each section. These are connected by a dot and dash line. A straight line connects the indicating points of the primitive sites and a dotted one those of the Yamato tombs. To get the actual figures of the latter two the units and fractions of the centimetre scale corresponding to the Yamato and primitive sites, must be multiplied by 100. In the first section, for instance, 2.1 means 210 primitive sites, 17.7 means 1770 tombs and 9.2 means 9200 sq, *ri*.

In the southwest section (A), the primitive sites are few in number, as previously stated, only about one eighth of the number of Yamato tombs. The Yamato sites are here at their highest, indicating prolonged occupation of this region. In the middle section, the primitive sites undergo a great increase, (to ten times their number in the preceding section), while those of the Yamato show a slight fall. It has been said that the Yamato sites are everywhere in inverse proportion to those of the primitive culture, but this is not markedly the case between the Ise-Ōmi line and the 38th degree, while from this point northwards they both exhibit a very decided fall. In this latter section (C), the diminution is due to the decadence of the primitive culture and perhaps insufficient research toward the north, together with the limitation of time in the case of the Yamato tombs. The deterring influence of a less congenial climate and the occupation of the Kwanto and other alluvial plains, probably tended also to diminish the pressure of the Yamato emigration before, even more than after, the 12th century. The large proportion of Yamato tombs in the middle section depends mainly upon their prevalence in the

Kwanto. The province of Musashi has nearly the same number as Yamato itself.

It is highly suggestive that the districts where the Yamato tombs are most numerous should be those specially noted in the ancient writings. Moreover, archeological investigation proves that the Kyushu, Izumo and Yamato centres are distinguished by the possession of regal tombs. The cave, the dolmen and the double mound, represent three degrees of rank or importance, the labour involved differing in each case. *Ceteris paribus*, the cave was probably the tomb of the gentry or lower official and military status, the dolmen either the same, or usually of higher officials or chiefs according to its construction and magnitude, together with that of its covering mound: the double mound was in all probability reserved for the highest personages and may be regarded as a sign of regal sepulture. Kyushu is principally noted for numerous dolmens scattered throughout various subcentres, some of which dolmens are very archaic, but Chikuzen, Chikugo and Buzen in the north of the island and Higo, Bungo and Hyuga in the centre and southeast, have double mounds. The emphasis given in the Kojiki and Nihongi to Izumo is borne out by the presence of double mounds and dolmens, with considerable numbers of the latter, in Iwami, Hoki and Inaba. Bizen and Harima have also many dolmens and the latter, double mounds. It will be seen by the map that they formed the gateway to Yamato from the restricted alluvium of Izumo with its bleak northerly exposure. They naturally led to the "fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains" where the main centre of Yamato government was situated till the present period of Meiji. Here the dolmens are very numerous and the double mounds reach their greatest number, telling of prolonged regal residence.

This conformity of the traditions to the archæological facts is all the more remarkable when we consider how slender is the presumption of their historical accuracy. It clearly shows that they rest on something more than mere surmises of the 8th

century. Taken with the paucity of primitive sites in the south western section of the country and the great numbers of Yamato tombs therein, this substantial agreement of the traditions and vestiges of the Yamato suggests a prolonged residence prior to the advance towards the Kwanto. The mythical element in the Kojiki, is plainly the survival of a great antiquity. This cannot yet be traced to Corea, but it may have incorporated some folklore of the primitive inhabitants The oblivion, also, regarding the immigration from the Continent, though communication was certainly established with Corea by the first century of the present era, foreshadows a longer period of incubation of the Yamato culture than has hitherto been supposed.

When we compare the traditional account of the invasion of the Kwanto with the monuments which have been left behind, the correspondence is equally worthy of attention. I have already alluded to this, but may remark that in the Musashi-Kotsuke plain and in Shinano, (bordering on the latter) are great numbers of caves, dolmens and some double mounds, indicating a centre of great, if not prolonged authority. Some mystery attaches to the precise location of the "Konu" of the Wei records. If I may venture a digression, I would suggest that Konu occupied the position of the modern Kotsuke. The present provinces of Kotsuke and Shimotsuke formerly constituted one province called Yashu. This, however, is a word of Chinese derivation, like Honshu, and must have been a later appellation. Konu, which is written phonetically in the Kojiki, is probably derived from "ko," superior, and "nu," a Yamato word, now pronounced "no," a moor, a wild plain. Konu would therefore be the "higher plain," having the same meaning as Kotsuke, Shimotsuke being the "lower plain." Konu might thus have been originally an advanced post on the frontier. Commanding, as it does, the Kwanto plains, it possesses advantages which might have converted it into a centre of independent authority. The wrangling of the

"king" of Konu, with the queen of Yamato, which caused them both to be admonished by their great and enlightened neighbour, China, might thus be accounted for. The numbers of Yamato and primitive sites in the Kwanto is compatible with the view that this magnificent region was not taken without a severe and prolonged struggle. If the "land of Konu" had acquired such importance before the 3rd century, the original advance into this region may have been made in the beginning of the present era, or earlier.

If it took nearly a thousand years to occupy the country from the 38th parallel to the north of Mutsu, and to accumulate therein 150 Yamato sites, how long would it take to accumulate over 1600 sites in section B, that is from the Ise-Ōmi line to the 38th degree? The chart does not contain the data necessary for a definite answer. To form even a rough idea, we must first know how long the custom of cave burial outlasted the 8th century. To the end of the 12th century would be 500 years, but it may be that cave burial, as a general custom, ceased by the end of the 10th century, which would give only one site in two years, a highly improbable supposition. We have still to deal with other considerations, chief perhaps among which is the uninviting nature of the northern section and, as already stated, the retarding effect of abundant land for cultivation nearer the centre of government. At this time, too, Buddhism must have tended to cremation which, in the case of persons on duty at a distance from home, would facilitate the task of removing the dead.

On the whole it seems that the conditions are too complicated to warrant us in attempting a rough deduction as to the antiquity of the central group of tombs from the number of those in the north. Bearing in mind, however, that an estimate based on such data cannot present us with more than an approach to the truth, we may come nearer to an idea as to the duration of the Yamato culture in Japan, and consequently as to the time of the retreat of the primitive people from the

south, by comparing the number of Yamato sites in section B with those of section A.

We know that about the beginning of the 8th century, the Yamato tombs had penetrated no further north than the 38th degree, which is the northern limit of the middle section. If we assume that the advance to the Kwanto began about the commencement of the present era, we shall not exceed the limit of probability. Besides the considerations already brought forward, the examination of the primitive sites in this region clearly indicates an evolution in pottery making, not only following contact with the Yamato culture (intermediate type) but as an independent development ahead of that found to the south of the Ise-Ōmi line. The best pottery of the Kwanto is superior to the best in the southwest section, so that we must allow sufficient time for this change to have occurred. The displacement of the primitive culture as far as the 38th degree, was effected by the 8th century, but must have been a gradual process. In the occurrence of intermediate pottery in a shell-heap at Kita Kase, immediately overlying a primitive shell-mound, one finds a hint that some of the primitive people stayed behind and were incorporated with the Yamato. The great majority of shellmounds, however, exhibit no such transformation, but only an evolution of the primitive pottery itself.

The Kwanto was occupied by the 3rd century A.D. If "Konu" be accepted as the equivalent of the present Kotsuke, we may be sure that its importance at that time betokens an occupation of the Kwanto at least two centuries earlier. On the supposition that the advance from the Yamato region occurred in the beginning of the present era, there is but a meagre allowance of time for the evolution of the shellmound pottery of the Kwanto from the inferior grade found in the southeast. I am justified therefore in making the proposition that the advance from the Ise-Ōmi line began not later than the commencement of the present era.

When we compare the Yamato sites in sections A and B,

we notice a difference of only 100 sites, to the advantage of the former. Many of the sites in section A were formed concurrently with those in section B. While tombs were being erected in the middle section, they were being added to in that of the southwest. They would also increase more rapidly in section A than in section B, because the population, in this first seat of occupation, must have been much greater, and because the higher officials were mainly congregated near the seat of government. We can therefore find only a hint as to the antiquity of the first period from a comparison of the numbers of sites in sections A and B. Still we must conclude that the extraordinary disproportion between the primitive and Yamato sites in section A, (1 to 8), when compared with the large numbers of both in section B, indicates a great antiquity for the occupancy of the southwest section by the Yamato people. Could this effacement have been effected within 500 years? I greatly doubt it, and am inclined to question whether 1000 years would be too much. With regard to the numbers of Yamato tombs in the two sections, it need not be pointed out that the rapidity of increase in A must have been very considerably less near its commencement than towards its end. The progress of tomb erection must, for the first few centuries, have been relatively slow. The tombs gradually increased in number and importance, as the spread of population and agriculture gave more frequent occasion and better means to gratify the ancestral manes.

In giving 500 B.C. as the latest date for the commencement of the retreat of the primitive population, it will be understood that this is no more than a conservative estimate, and that several considerations point to an earlier advance on the part of the Yamato. Without adducing the evidence of a bronze culture in favour of this proposition, the antiquity suggested by other considerations opens the question whether an evolution, or at least a reinforcement of culture, did not take place in *situ*, from a bronze or possibly even a neolithic phase.

III.—OTHER ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

Professor Gowland, in his admirable study of the dolmens and burial mounds of Japan, came to the conclusion that there had been an actual evolution of the dolmen type in this country. Before one can pronounce definitely upon this the questions of funeral conservatism, quantity and quality of material available locally, and perhaps the amount of labour at hand, must be taken into consideration. I can only say that the suggestion of an evolution of dolmen building in Japan has much to recommend it. The conclusion arrived at by this investigator is "that the beginning of the dolmen period may not have been widely separated in time from the commencement of our era, although it must be remembered that one or two isolated examples would tend to place it in an earlier age."* The considerable increase in the number of dolmens discovered since the observations of Professor Gowland has an important bearing on the antiquity of the dolmen in Japan.

There is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that the Yamato invasion, even as a full fledged iron culture, began as early as 500 B.C. Iron was in use in Egypt, Assyria and even China, long before this. From remote times, iron has been wrought in the vicinity of the Long White Mountain: before the present era, the currency of Corea was pieces of iron. As early as 500 B.C. a regular trade existed between the Chinese and the Tunguse, who extended southwards into the Corean peninsula.†

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* "The Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan," by Professor Gowland F.S.A. Archaeologia, Vol. LV. As Gowland properly remarks, "Many points, however, are still obscure about this important period in the life history of the Japanese race. More explorations are required for their elucidation, and still more for tracing back that history further in pre-dolmen times."

† Corea then extended to the Lia Ho.

To summarise the foregoing. There has been a retreat of the primitive people to the north of Japan. About two thousand five hundred years ago, or more, tribal expeditions from the mainland of Asia, carrying a bronze or iron culture, possessed themselves of the coastland of southwestern Japan. Had there been an uprising from within, rather than an incursion from without, the vestiges of the neolithic culture would have been more in evidence in the southwest section and in all probability, there would have been more varied relics of bronze. As it is, the objects of bronze found in the south consist of swords, halberds and arrowheads, with bells that might have played the part of the tocsin in ancient Europe. The presence of moulds for making these weapons tells us that they were not merely the spoils of war, brought from the neighbouring continent. Their absence from the dolmens is noteworthy, but it is possible that the dolmen in Japan is an afterthought. Some considerations, briefly referred to, induce the belief that a bronze using people preceded the iron culture and were either destroyed or entered into the Yamato hegemony. It is possible that a struggle of this kind, and perhaps subsequent coalition, are referred to in the Kojiki under the "abdication of the Deity Master of the Great Land."* It is certain that the Yamato were but slightly removed from a bronze culture and that the survivals of a stone phase were still linked to their iron culture.

In considering the problem of the disappearance of the neolithic culture from the southwest, it is well to bear in mind the proximity of this region to Corea, where neolithic remains are very scanty and an iron culture has had vogue from a remote antiquity. It is possible, nay, probable, that this portion of Japan has received many incursions from the mainland in ancient times and it has surely been the channel by which the Yamato were able to reinforce their culture by the crumbs

* Chamberlain's Translation, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan p. 99.

from the table of Chinese civilisation. One may suppose that the Yamato held their own by intrigue with the "friendly natives" as well as by superior arms. Doubtless some amalgamation with the primitive stock took place, mainly by concubinage and the loose sexual relations prevailing among barbarous peoples. Step by step those who held aloof were pressed backward, the pressure varying from time to time, but increasingly effective as the years passed and armament increased.

The primitive culture continued to develop outside the pale of the Yamato influence, especially in the Kwanto and in the north, where it remained undisturbed till historic times. Finally, the primitive people were driven from the seaboard, the art of pottery making languished and a process of degeneration gradually set in.

Flashes of light from the traditions and later history, reveal glimpses of treachery, rapine and retaliation. It is perhaps well that these centuries of slaughter are so imperfectly recorded, though it may be questioned whether this process were more atrocious than the extermination of the native Tasmanians by the settlers of the last century. There are instances of kindly treatment of the Yezo, by their Yamato conquerors. According to the Zoku-Nihongi, inducements were given to prominent Yezo to join the Yamato organisation, and court rank was sometimes bestowed on those who proved faithful.

Rice was yearly tributed by the Japanese peasantry to the authorities for the support of the captured Yezo. Those who became "tame," seem to have been fairly well treated.

Topography controls history. The alluvial plains of Japan drew the Yamato on, even into the inclement north, while the open communication at their back, with the Asiatic continent, continued to supply the pabulum of culture, from which, by their presence, the Yezo were debarred. Throughout this contact we observe that the higher purpose of tilling the soil,

by giving support to large stationary communities, prevailed, as it always has done, over the more primitive life, where horticulture is merely an accessory to fishing and hunting.

Perhaps we have reached some conclusion regarding the retreat of the neolithic culture, but what about its beginning? No clear ideas can be formed on this point. Many of the shell-mounds are distant from the present shore, some over ten miles, which vaguely indicates a great antiquity. But as in the case of the Ōmori shellheap, it is exceedingly difficult to reduce this to anything like a definite idea. There are so many conditions that defy computation. One can be sure that for three to five thousand years neolithic culture has been known in Japan and there are indications which lead me to think that an earlier period is probable. The great shellmounds of the Kwanto show a distinct change from a cruder to a finer type of pottery, betokening an evolution on the spot. This by itself deserves consideration, but when one finds crude pottery imbedded in the red loam fully eight feet from the surface of a level plateau, where deposit from above is out of the question, one naturally feels a sense of antiquity which is heightened by the reflection that this ware had already undergone an evolution from a still more primitive type. According to the observations of Darwin, under the most favourable conditions, the elevation of mould by earthworms occurred about the rate of from .2 to .22 inches per annum,* but with objects deeply imbedded, a much slower rate was to be expected. Darwin referred to the burial of stone implements by the agency of worms. "It is therefore probable," he said, "that the aborigines, at some former period, had left these objects on the surface, and that they had afterwards been slowly covered up by the castings of worms." If we even suppose that the rate of elevation had, in the case of the pottery in my excavations at Mitsusawa, been reduced by half for each foot of depth, an

* "The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms," Authorised edition, Appleton & Co. p. 144.

antiquity of 3680 years would be reached. This is altogether too speculative to be of service here, but I may note an interesting point which gives us some kind of clue. Covering one of the north excavations at Mitsusawa, was a layer of black mould, averaging three inches in thickness, overlying another of volcanic ash. The latter, in all likelihood, was deposited from the eruption of Hoei San (an excrescence from Mount Fuji), in the years 1707-8 A.D. Three inches in 198 years, or one inch in 66 years, gives about .015 of an inch per annum. If the deeper deposit had taken place at the same rate the pottery at a depth of 8 feet would be covered in 6336 years. This estimate is introduced for the sake of exhausting possibilities in this direction rather than of presenting an unimpeachable method of calculating antiquity. It will be understood that accuracy cannot be reached by this means, but where there is so little to count upon, one is glad to clutch at anything that promises some approximation to the truth.

At the bottom of several shellheaps, which in themselves showed an evolution of pottery from below upwards, indicating considerable antiquity, I have come across the remains of the primitive hearth, with (in one instance) holes excavated in the red clay, proving that the primitive life had been carried on at these spots previous to the formation of such shellheaps.

PALEOLITHIC CULTURE.

Has there been a paleolithic phase in Japan?

As already remarked, there is a striking similarity between the neolithic implements of Japan and those found in the primitive sites and alluvium of Europe, indeed all over the world. Those implements sharing this resemblance are ground or chipped to a definite finish that could only be the outcome of long experience and transmitted knowledge. They indicate a comparatively advanced degree of human craftsmanship. In Europe their discovery naturally preceded the finds

in the deeper strata and the uniformity of type countenanced the idea of uniform culture. The "stone age" thus acquired a significance which later investigation has not entirely dispelled. Within its limits all culture was "primitive" and the achievements of early man came to be regarded as the content of an epoch, rather than as a phase of evolution.

These relics indicate, however, not the infancy, but the maturity of primitive culture. The recovery of rude implements from caves and the river drift, proves that a phase more truly primitive prevailed on this planet long anterior to that of the finely chipped and polished tool. There is no need to recapitulate the evidence on which is based the conception of vast antiquity of the human race The general verdict of geologists and archæologists is that many of these rudely shaped stones are the work of man. There are cogent reasons for the belief that man existed during the Quaternary era and the Pliocene of the Tertiary, so that his antiquity must find expression in geological change.

The discovery of an earlier culture upset the stability of the "stone age" by differentiating two unequal aspects of culture, an older and a younger, the paleolithic and the neolithic. Moreover, a still earlier stage must be inferred, during which a being, which we may call man, conceived the idea of borrowing sticks and stones from his surroundings and of using the latter, as they came to hand, for missiles and tools The splits of disintegrated rock could be used without modification for splitting, sawing, or boring wood. We may call this the "protolithic phase." It may not seem to us a tremendous step from the simple choice of cobbles or sharp splits of rock to the trimming of these with a definite object in view. But when we consider the geological periods that intervene between the paleolithic and the advanced neolithic stages, when we try to realise the mental status appropriate to such elementary artizanship, it becomes apparent that the prior phase might have occupied an enormous period of time.

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to recognise these earliest tools. A miscroscopic study of the edges might in some cases reveal evidence of use, but it could rarely be regarded as convincing. The finding of human remains in immediate contact with such fragments might justify us in identifying them as the most primitive implements of man. At present we must admit that at the very point where it would be most instructive to fix some relative duration for the beginnings of human endeavour, the evidence dwindles down to nothing, One can only point to the presence of natural stones in the neolithic sites, where their use is beyond cavil, as a survival of employment by earlier humanity.

Over a year ago, I noticed that the breccia of conglomerate in the valley of the Hayakawa occasionally resembled in its fracture that of the eoliths or cruder paleoliths found in Europe, especially in regard to the "bulb of percussion." Observations in Europe have demonstrated that the concussion of pebbles, rolled in the bed of a rapid stream, might have been responsible for many of the supposed paleoliths, so that the determination of these cannot be lightly undertaken.

With reference to the rude implements found in the neolithic sites of Japan, it is perhaps, in view of the mistake which has occurred, not parading an obvious truth to assert again that crude finish does not necessarily imply a paleolithic tool. We may regard them as survivals from this phase, but the question of age is a geological and not a technical one. There are certainly points of difference between some of the paleothic and ruder neolithic implements, but such technical details have merely an empirical bearing on the question of age. They have no logical relevance to the latter, and *per se*, can do no more than help to decide the question of human or natural manufacture.

Until last year, no implements had been removed from the gravels of Japan, and my limited excavation has not yet furnished positive evidence of their existence. These stones,

fig. 83, which I removed from a gravel cliff in the valley of the Sakawagawa, in August of last year, rather strikingly suggest a human origin. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, I took from the gravel; No. 7 from the red loam immediately overlying the gravel, at a depth of 14 feet from the surface, and No. 5 from the conglomerate of the Hayakawa. In the case of flint implements, the comparative ease with which chipping can be effected renders the evidence of design less difficult to decipher than in the case of igneous rock, of which these are made. These specimens are therefore insufficient to definitely establish the existence of paleolithic man in this country, though they seem to suggest it.

My excavation was too limited to ascertain the co-existence of animal remains, but the bones of tertiary (post-Miocene) mammals have been found in the gravel.* These include the *elephas primigenius*, *elephas namadicus*, *stegodon Clifti*, *stegodon insignis*, and unnamed varieties of bear, deer, bison, ox, horse, rhinoceros and whale. During the Tertiary period Japan must have been continuous with the continent of Asia and it is highly probable that Java occupied the same relation to the mainland. Significant is the discovery, in the upper Pliocene of Java, of a cranium of the lowest type that can be classed as human, the *pithecanthropus erectus*. These primitive offshoots into humanity probably roamed along the coast of Asia and we may be sure that Japan received her quota in the early paleolithic times.

Whatever be the propriety of using the terms, protolithic, paleolithic and neolithic to indicate salient phases of human progress, it is evident that the expression "stone age" has outlived the notion of a uniform culture. The stages represented by these three divisions must be carefully guarded against the assumption that any one of them was a uniform culture process. Within each there has been advance by unequal

* "Outlines of the Geology of Japan" Compiled by the officials of the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan. p. p. 84-5.

Fig. 83.

Stones from drift gravel.

gradations, by leaps as well as by steps. These stages themselves have been coeval as well as consecutive; it is but a few years since "paleolithic man" disappeared in Tasmania. Whether man has physically advanced by "mutations," by occasional great as much as by continuous small variations, is a question that the geological record has yet failed to answer. Of one thing at least we are sure; that both with regard to culture and physical change, the content of the "stone age" is an *excelsior*. In the twilight of receding time we discern the footprints of ascending humanity.

THE PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS.

During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since prehistoric archæology attained the rank of a science in Japan, a great mass of detailed information has been accumulated by Tsuboi, Wakabayashi, Torii, Yagi, Teraishi, Kanda, Tanaka, S. Sato, D. Sato and others. In one particular only this information fell short of what one might have expected. Some long bones and a few scattered trunk and other bones were the only vestiges that could be identified with the primitive inhabitants of Japan. Dr. Takashima, an eminent dentist of Tokyo, had, over a year ago, found part of a skeleton with a fairly complete cranium, in a shellheap at Konodai in the province of Shimosa, but this had not been examined. I happened to see these bones at his residence and was struck with the similarity between them and those which I had discovered. Dr. Takashima kindly placed them in my hands for examination. In the early part of this year, I had come across two fairly complete skeleta with skulls, besides three detached skulls (previously mentioned) while conducting my deep excavations at Mitsuzawa. This good fortune has therefore enabled me to place on record six skulls and three skeleta, a small showing it is true, but an advance upon the collection of detached long bones previously obtained.

The abundance of data relating to the primitive culture, together with the comparative absence of human remains, naturally led to the concentration of thought upon the available material, that is to say the pottery and implements of the primitive sites, in an attempt to learn something about the race which produced them. These relics could not be expected to vouchsafe information, except by comparison with the products of other peoples, but the presence of surviving Ainu in Yezo, Saghalin and the Kuriles naturally suggested an attempt to connect their culture with that of the shellmounds. The Ainu of Yezo came first under notice, and it was ascertained that here they did not make pottery, nor use the implements of stone which characterised the primitive sites. They even had a tradition that an alien race of small stature, to which they had applied the term *Koropok-guru*, or "dwellers below," and also the Japanese terms *Kobito* and *Koshito*,* meaning "little people, pigmies," were responsible for the primitive vestiges which abound even in the Hokkaido.

The Rev. John Batchelor, who has resided many years in the Hokkaido (whose dictionary is the most comprehensive work on the language of the Ainu) formerly accepted this tradition of the Ainu, as a working hypothesis, and gave it publicity in his writings and speeches. As the result of a scholarly investigation into the place names of Yezo, which he has proved to be of Ainu origin, as Professor Chamberlain did with many topographical names in Honshu, Mr. Batchelor has abandoned his theory and now favours the Ainu origin of the primitive sites that are found in Yezo. Professor Tsuboi, an indefatigable worker in this field, whose labours on the primitive, but even more on the Yamato, culture, have been highly illuminative, adopted the theory of the non-Ainu origin of the shellmounds and has consistently upheld it for many years. With knowledge equalling that of his opponents and

* This is actually *kohito*, from *ko* small and *hito* a person, but I have k en the liberty of writing it more phonetically.

with much polemical skill, he has succeeded in maintaining a considerable following, notwithstanding the capricious and unsatisfactory data upon which he has been obliged to base his conclusions.

I need scarcely point out that data regarding culture, though of value in tracing communication, direct or indirect, between various peoples, furnish by no means a reliable criterion of race. But the discussion which has necessarily hitherto been confined almost exclusively to the cultures of the shellmound builders and of the Ainu, cannot be called fruitless. Not only has it resulted in much detailed information about these cultures, but as furnishing corroborative testimony it has a bearing on the problem. Circumstantial or incidental evidence is not to be despised. It is expedient therefore to give this controversy a passing notice.

The main points advanced against the Ainu origin of the primitive sites are as follows: they do not use pit dwellings, or stone implements, nor do they make pottery; the patterns on their wooden implements differ from those on the pottery and stone implements of the Japanese stone phase; they themselves attribute these relics to an alien people i.e., the *Koropokguru*. In favour of a distinct race are the aforesaid considerations, the presence of "eyeguards" on the images of the primitive sites, which would betoken a northern origin, and the existence of harpoons and allied appliances similar to those in use by the Eskimo.

That a race allied to the Eskimo was the main factor in the creation of the primitive sites and the northern pits, is the proposition advanced and maintained by Professor Tsuboi.

The considerations however, which prompted this view have no longer any valid bearing on the issue. Later research has proved that pit dwellings have been used by the Ainu of Saghalin and the Kuriles, that they have also used pottery and stone implements, that the tradition of the Yezo Ainu

regarding the Koropokguru is offset by one which credits themselves with the use of stone implements, and that in the opinion of several observers, including myself, there is no *fundamental* difference between the motives of the Ainu decoration and those of the primitive culture. What seems to Professor Tsuboi a similarity between eyeguards and the appearance presented by some of the primitive images, creates in my mind rather the impression that the ancestral deities were conventionally provided with spacious "windows of the soul," like the eyes on the junks of China and the boats of Polynesia.* It is not impossible, though I think otherwise, that the ingenious interpretation of Professor Tsuboi may indicate an origin of such eyes from masks which had penetrated into Japan from Eastern Asia, or the Aleutian Islands.

When pottery was found in the Kuriles, it was pointed out that it was coarser in texture than that of the mainland and that some of the pans had handles inside. The latter have been also discovered in Yezo, in which island iron pots with handles inside were formerly in use. It is not unlikely that the iron pan was the model from which a decadent art of pottery making borrowed an acceptable plan of suspending the cooking vessel.

If we admit that this pottery differs greatly from the highly ornate and varied ware of the shellmounds, we do not find that such a condition is out of harmony with the history of the Yezo themselves. On the contrary the persistence of a few samples of a degenerate art, all reduced to the level of bare necessity, is entirely in keeping with the past history and present condition of the Ainu. Driven from their villages, broken in spirit and reduced to a precarious existence in the inhospitable climate of Yezo, it is little wonder that the higher level of the fictile art

* The explanation given by a Chinese boatman, to account for the necessity of having eyes on the prow of a vessel, may bear repetition here, as it must have constituted a genuine motive in primitive cultures, where the eye is the most constant feature of the anthropomorph: "No got eye, no can see; no can see, no can savey; no can savey, no can do!"

was abandoned for the serviceable and durable iron pots of Japanese or Siberian manufacture. With iron knives too, which they were permitted to receive in barter with the Japanese, it became a comparatively easy matter to make bowls of wood and fashion other utensils and implements of this material. Alcoholism, disease and relaxation of the arduous toil involved in the manufacture of stone implements, have probably conduced to that degeneration which has further reacted upon the arts of pottery-making and the fashioning of weapons, utensils and implements from stone. It would seem that the influence of an iron culture is not always beneficial to primitive people. Dr. Moriz Hoernes quotes an observer of the South Sea Islands:— "The iron of the European followed too closely upon the stone of the savage, and the necessary consequence was that the latter fell ill and pined away morally and physically."*

With regard to the resemblance between the harpoons of the Eskimo and a few of those found in the primitive sites, No. 12, fig. 26, it may be said that correspondence so exact, especially when reinforced by other points of similarity, among which Professor Tsuboi includes the "eyeguards" of the primitive images, creates a probability in favour of similarity of race. Although the content of any one culture, however close its resemblance to another, involves no necessity of racial identity, such considerations might, as I have said, be properly employed to reinforce more direct evidence. In the absence of evidence, they might, if not otherwise nullified, be utilised as the starting point of a working hypothesis, but could have no distinctive evidential force, or even antecedent probability. It seems to me therefore, that Professor Tsuboi has permitted himself be somewhat more emphatic than the occasion warranted. In the absence of anthropological evidence, his position was a difficult one. The atmosphere of mystery induced by the existence of vestiges unaccompanied by human remains sufficient to establish their own identity, bred speculation

* "Primitive Man" p. 87.

rather than reserve of judgement; unfortunately it is an atmosphere in which opinion is prone to degenerate into dogmatism. The extensive knowledge of Japanese prehistoric archæology, the wide learning and the lucid style of Professor Tsuboi have at least enabled him to exhaust the possibilities of argument in favour of his hypothesis.

Not only, however, would the existence of eyeguards, and other appliances similar to those of the Eskimo, fail to demonstrate more than a culture contact, but we are obliged to admit such contact with other races, whether immediate or intermediate. A general resemblance of culture exists all over the world and often includes details of technique, design, or custom. Besides the instances quoted by the supporters of the non-Ainu origin of the shellheaps, there are others possessing those specific characters which minimise the chance of accidental similarity. The multibarbed harpoon, No. 14, fig. 26, was known in neolithic Europe. Various arrowheads of peculiar shape are common to Japan, Europe and America. The axe, No. 4, fig. 12, from my excavation at Mitsusawa, is rare both in Europe and Japan, but its special form and finish invests it with some significance. These instances are sufficient to prove that racial affinity cannot be deduced from technical considerations.

The still recent *faux pas* of European philologists warns us that language shares with the gross vestiges of culture the stigma of unreliability as a guide to race. The hazardous attempts to establish an Aryan race is too fresh to need repetition. When therefore I say that many of the localities where shellmounds are found throughout Japan, bear names traceable to Ainu roots, we can only assume that persons using the same language as the Ainu were formerly resident in these localities. These roots might even prove to be a heritage from a stock language common to the Japanese and the Ainu. In regard to local names however, we are often assisted by the fact that the Ainu place names are usually descriptive of the locality.

The name Ōmori, for instance, is generally supposed to be of Japanese origin and to refer to a large wood or forest, But if I suggest that the name of this locality, which derives special interest from its having been the first shellmound in Japan to yield up its treasures to scientific research, is derived from two Ainu words, namely *O*, meaning "projecting" and *Mori*, a "little hill," I am stating a topographical fact of great interest to a primitive people. A rising ground in the neighbourhood of the sea was of prime importance to the shellmound builders. Here the primitive village was safe from intruding waves and enjoyed a better strategical position than the lower levels. The survival of the Ainu to about 17,000 in Yezo, and the knowledge that they were formerly denizens of Honshu, must add significance to the persistence of Ainu names throughout Japan.

On the other hand The *Koropokguru*, if they spoke a similar language, have utterly vanished from human ken. In the Hokkaido, where the Ainu still propound the pigmy theory which has been accepted by scientific men, no bones other than those of the Ainu have been disinterred from the soil. Nor in Honshu, or in any other part of Japan, so far as I am aware, have the bones of a race distinctively alien to the Ainu been unearthed from the shellmounds. On the contrary the long bones which were found previous to my discovery, were stated by Professor Koganei to be akin to those of the Ainu in length and indices. The character of platycnemia (flatness) was shown to be common to both, though as a usual feature in primitive tibiae, it could not be held to specially indicate that race. Incidentally, one notes that the stature of the Eskimo (average 1,575 m.m. and 1,703 m.m. Denniker* and Topinard)† is somewhat at variance with the idea of a race of dwarfs (Kobito), though the former average stature is about the same as that of the Japanese (2,500

* "Races of Man" p. p. 577 and 578.
† "Anthropology" p. p. 320 and 321.

Japanese, including 1,260 soldiers=1,585 m.m.; upper and middle classes, 1,590 m.m. Denniker; 2500 individuals, *males* =1580 to 1590 m.m., *females*=1474 m.m. out of 173 individuals of the upper and middle classes and 1450 m.m. out of 69 individuals of the working classes, Baelz),

According to Koganei,* the average height of the male living Ainu is 1566 m.m., and of the female 1468 m.m., rather above the height of the Alaskan Eskimo and of the Japanese.

The work of repairing the bones, removed from my excavations (and especially the crania,) has occupied much of my leisure during several months and is not yet completed. The crania were so soft and reduced to so many fragments that they required to be dessicated before handling, and the process of adjustment was necessarily slow. Up to the present, only one skull has been fitted with the facial skeleton, fig. 84, and there is little hope that this can be entirely repaired in the others. Nevertheless the crania are sufficiently restored to give several important measurements, as figure 85 shows. It will be perceived that none of the five adult skulls exhibit hyper-dolichocephaly (extreme length, characteristic of the Greenland and E. American Eskimo). Nos. 1, 2 and 4, fig. 85 are mesaticephalic (or subdolichocephalic), with indices of 75 8, 76.3 and 78.4 respectively. In No. 3, the frontal bone was much decayed, so that the cephalic index is probably rather lower than I have represented it to be. No. 5 is a female skull with a naturally higher index, 81.3, while No. 6 is the skull of a child with still more marked brachycephaly, but the index is not exact, by reason of the absence of the occipital bone. The *norma verticalis* appears to combine the ovoid with the sphenoid form of Sergi, but No. 1 might be pentagonoid with a tendency to elliptical contour. These photographs are somewhat less than one fourth linear dimensions.

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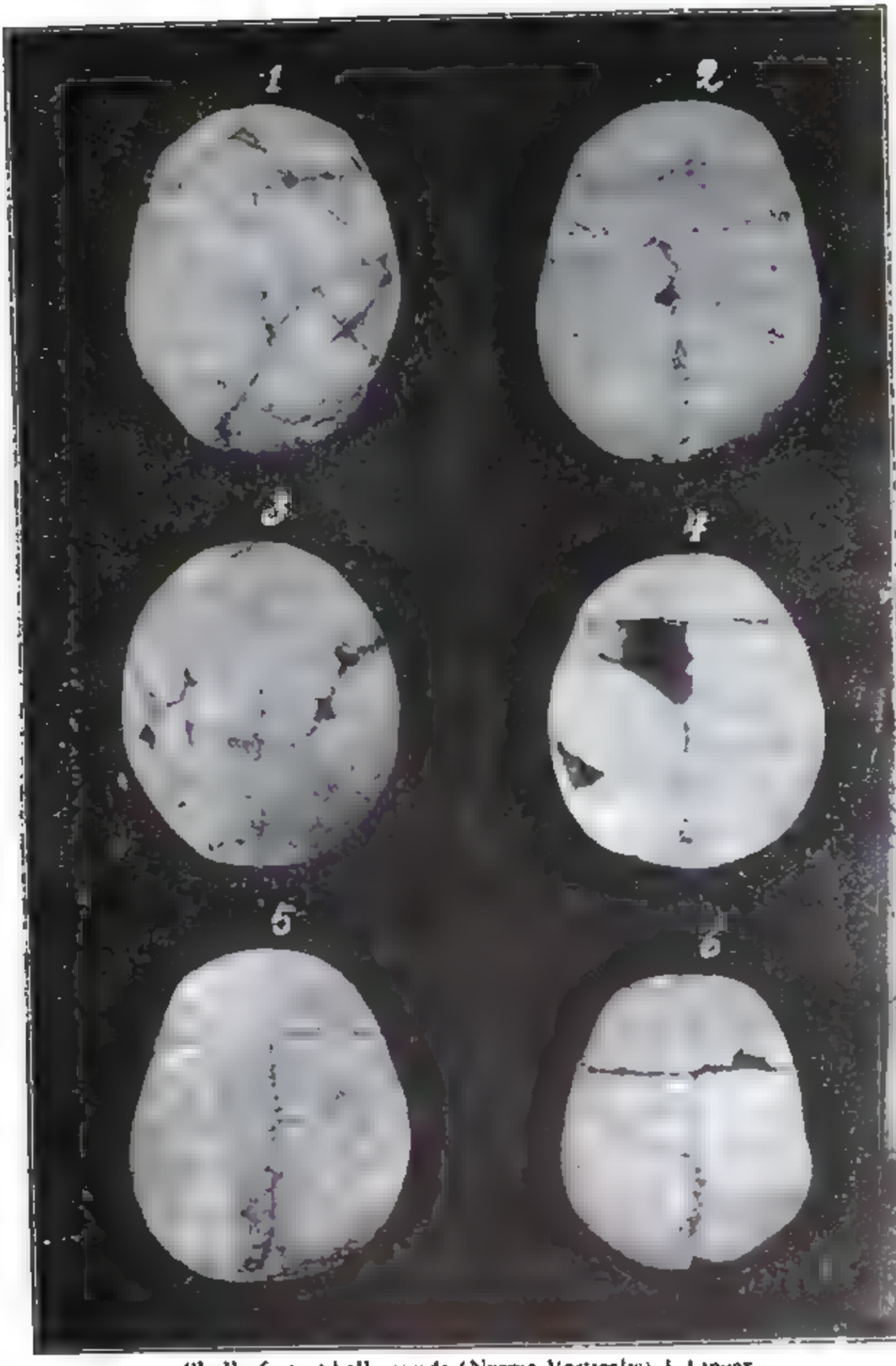
* "Beiträge Zur Physichen Anthropologie der Aino" 'Band 2, No. 2' "Mittheilungen Aus Der Medicinischen Facultät Der Kaiserlich-Japanischen Universität" Tokyo 1894. p. 270.

Fig. 84.

Skull from Shellmound

These indices would not exclude the possibility of an Eskimo stock, as the Asiatic Eskimo approach brachycephaly in head form. But the crania do not exhibit extreme height, nor are the upper maxillary and malar bones as large as in the Eskimo. In the one specimen, No. 2, fig. 85, and fig. 84, which seems to diverge from the classical Ainu type, on account of some denticulation at the bregma, the nasal index is 52, which corresponds to that of the Ainu, but not the Eskimo, According to Broca, the Eskimo type is one of the most homogeneous, but in Asia the stock is so mixed with others that the *type* cannot be said to exist. I

Fig. 85.



Skulls from Shellmounds (Norma Verticalis) ½ Linear.
CEPHALIC INDICES.
(1) 75.8 (2) 76.3 (3) 80.2? (4) 78.4 (5) 81.3 (6) 82.7?

unhesitatingly affirm however, that these skulls do not belong to the Eskimo *type*.

It is not possible to estimate the position of a race by one or two osteological characters. They must be taken collectively, and carefully compared with others taken collectively, before pronouncing upon them. The material which I present is as yet limited both in amount and in the detailed observations which I have thus far been enabled to make upon it. I shall therefore be content with a brief statement of the points of resemblance and leave the candid mind to judge whether I am wrong in pronouncing them to be of Ainu race.

1. The indices thus far obtainable, namely the cephalic, orbital, nasal, superior facial and pelvic, accord with those given by Professor Koganei in his exhaustive study, previously referred to.*

2. The meagre denticulation of the coronal and anterior sagittal sutures is characteristic of these and of the Ainu crania.

3. The persistence of the posterior malar fissure, frequent in the Ainu skull, is present in these (2 in 6). There is no extension of the fissure forward to form the so-called the *Os Japonicum*, probably a Malayan character, very rarely found in the Ainu skull (from admixture with Japanese?). A groove however, on the internal surface, along the line of attachment of the masseter muscle, persists in all these bones.

4. The shallow canine fossa, the even alveolar border and the marked palatal ridge, present also points of resemblance to the Ainu skull.

5. The projection of the glabella and superciliary ridges with only a moderate development of the occipital protuberance and of the superior curved line, are common to these crania and to those of the Ainu.

6. The long bones also present characters which are possessed by the Ainu, though in common with other primitive

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* "Beitrage Zur Physichen Anthropolegie Der Ainu" Band 1.

races. Of these, torsion and perforation of the humerus, the deep and rough groove along the linea aspera of the femur, with tendency to a "third trochanter," and the marked platycnemia of the tibia are the most apparent.

It will be understood that the above characters are not always present on the same cranium or long bone, but the proportion in this small series is sufficiently marked to constitute a fairly consistent sketch of the Ainu stock. A peculiar feature which I noticed in the dorsal and lumbar vertebrae of the three skeleta, but to a faint degree only in the female, is seen in fig. 86. Around the upper and lower free edges of the body of the vertebrae, there is eversion of the bone, vastly greater than that of the European skeleton. This is accompanied in some of the bones by great irregularity of the edge. The bone here presents the appearance of having exuded in rough nodes and protuberances. This condition is most marked in the lumbar vertebræ and is associated with the presence of numerous large nutrient foramina on the anterior surface. In the male skeleton from Mitsuzawa, there is a pathological deformity of the left elbow joint. The above mentioned condition of the vertebrae however, cannot be regarded as pathological, inasmuch as it is found on all the skeleta.

The presence of Ainu remains, for such I must regard them, in the primitive sites, must annual the force of any argument, however ingenious and plausible, which seeks to dissociate this race from participation in the shellmound culture of Japan. It strengthens the suspicion that in the story of the *Koropok-guru*, we have another instance of the failure of an illiterate people to retain a distinct memory of previous culture. Without prejudice to the possibility that more than one race existed in ancient Japan, this explanation of the Ainu may be taken as a myth, which, in the absence of direct knowledge, gave to them a reasonable explanation of the pits and other relics of the stone phase in Yezo.

The participation of the Ainu in the primitive culture, does

Fig. 86.

Vertebrae from Shellmounds

not debar us from assuming the former existence of other races in Japan. If we regard the term *Koropokguru* in its literal sense as a title for all dwellers below ground, we might have to admit the existence of other pit-dwellers, including the Yamato themselves. The probability of other people having coexisted with the Ainu in the remote past, diminishes with the evidence of their former prevalence throughout Japan and the historical fact that they fiercely resisted intrusion on their soil. We cannot yet however, exclude the possibility that other races carried on a neolithic culture in Japan. Several races coexist in Saghalin and Formosa, the Philipines and many other islands. The various approaches to Japan, by Saghalin, by the Tsushima Straits, and by the Luchus from the Philipines and the Malay Archipelago encourage the idea. The bones from the shell heaps appear to me to represent a mixed race. The Ainu are not a pure race, though a presumably pure type is recognisable. But without going into this question, it is quite certain that the Japanese people are a mixture of several distinct stocks. Negrito, Mongolian, Indonesian, and Semitic are mingled with Palasiatic (Toda, Ainu) characters. In spite of my inability to do justice to this theme, the question ought to be asked whether this mingling began (with the exception of the Aino stock) outside of Japan. It is scarcely to be questioned that the historic Turks were at first sight a mixed race, combining Semitic with a large proportion of Mongolian characters. The Yamato leaders, if we may judge by the terracotta figures which have been left, were not pure Mongolians. Many of these figures exhibit a distinctly Caucasian appearance and the aristocratic type of Japanese preserves these features to this day. The beau ideal of the artists and poets of Japan indicates a prototype of Iranian or other Semitic affinity. That whiteness of skin was a desideratum is evident from marked allusions to it in the ancient writings.

It is probable that the military aristocracy of Semitic (Assyrian?) origin were followed by a Mongolian rank and

file and that modification took place to some extent before arrival in Japan. But the Semitic leaven, though outcropping among all classes according to Mendel's induction, could but partially affect the mass. It is conceivable therefore, that the Mongolian element in Japan was an imported and not an original stock.

Whether the Negrito character which Baelz and Koganei have called attention to, was inherited from a pure stock which carried on a primitive culture in Southwest Japan, or whether it has also survived from a Malayan incursion, cannot yet be decided. The Negrito has long been resident in the Philipines* and it may be asked whether he did not visit Japan under his own colours. It is not altogether improbable that tribes of Oceanic Mongols, such as the Igorrot, formed part of the ancient population of Japan.

The agricultural population of Japan presents numerous superficial resemblances to the Igorrot and some of the customs carry a suggestion of a common culture.† An affinity of language has also been hinted, but the evidence is insufficient.‡

If a race of Malays inhabited Kyushu previous to the irruption of the Yamato, it is probable that they were still in their stone phase. The bronze weapons found in the southwest have not been identified with a Malayan culture, though Tsuboi has shown that this is not impossible. On the other hand they have been found in Shangtung. Some of the Intermediate (Yayoishiki) pottery is said to resemble that of the Malays, but its patterns approximate to those of the dolmen pottery. These considerations are not of much avail, but it may be remarked that Yamato patterns have been

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* "Negritos of Zambales," by W. A. Reed. Ethnological Survey Publications, Manila, 1904.

† "The Bontoc Igorrot." by A.E. Jenks, p. 40 et seq. Ethnological Survey Publications.

‡ "The Nabaloi Dialect," by Otto Scheerer, p. 99. Eth. Suryey Publications. Manila.

traced to the north of Corea. According to Mr. Numata Reisuke,* the people of southern Kyushu, afterwards known in history as the Hayato, were the descendents of the Kumaso. The origin of the latter name is the subject of several opinions, but the simplest and best is that given by Motoori, who traced it to *Kuma*, "a bear," and *So*, an abbreviation of *Isao*, meaning "strong men." Motoori thought that this name was given to the Kumaso because they were strong and fierce, but it may have originated with the Kumaso themselves. In this connection, one remembers that the great totem of the Ainu is the bear and that Ainu place names exist in Kyushu. The question whether other races can claim the same antiquity as the Ainu, must be left unanswered for the present.

No bronze weapons have as yet been found in the shellheaps of Japan. This does not negative an evolution from the neolithic to the bronze culture, for this metal could be recast again and again and was even more unlikely than iron to be thrown on the middings. The rare instances of Yamato pottery being found at the stone age sites does not mean more than that one culture followed closely on the heels of the other. So far as I know, no Yamato pottery or iron utensils or implements have been disinterred from the deeper layers of the shell-mounds. It is, I think, a fair inference from the foregoing statements in this paper, that there was a prolonged period of incubation in the Southwest of Japan, during which the Yamato culture was being evolved amid various racial elements, that this culture was nourished and reinforced by various incursions from the Continent, while that of the outstanding Ainu, cut off from intercourse with the civilisation of China, was denied the opportunity or progress by "propagation." Surprise may be expressed that the modern Japanese do not

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* "Nihon Jinshu Shinron" (A new Opinion about the Japanese Race), by Numata Reisuke, 2903.

show more external signs of admixture with the Ainu of former times, but I am convinced that this leaven is present in a greater degree than is apparent. The hairiness of the Ainu has been not a little exaggerated. It would seem also that the hirsute character is not a permanent one and is liable to lapse. The various mixtures of Mongolian with hairy races of Asia has left less trace than one might anticipate. Space does not permit me to enter into this matter here. I shall only record my belief that there are no anthropological reasons for maintaining that the Ainu were not formerly prevalent throughout Japan.

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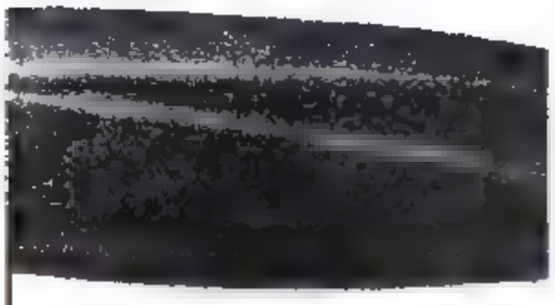

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OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXIV: PART III.

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YOKOHAMA, SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE: KELLY & WALSH, L'D.
TOKYO: Z. P MARUYA CO., L'D.
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & CO., L'D.
LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

OCTOBER, 1906.

PRICE - - - - - - - - - Yen 1.50.

PRINTED AT THE FUKUIN PRINTING CO., NO. 81, YAMASHITA-CHO, YOKOHAMA, JAPAN.

A

SUMMARIZED CATALOGUE

OF THE

POSTAGE STAMPS

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JAPAN

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A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD.

1906.

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„ 84.— „ October 1899 and January 1900.
„ 85.— „ October 1899 and January 1900.
„ 86.— „ October 1899 and January 1900.

PREFACE.

The work which I propose to bring before you, is a simple tabulated record of the Postage Stamps issued by Japan from the date of the reformed Postal System until recently. In describing the stamps in detail, I may somewhat tax your patience with explanations of papers, perforations, etc. Such details interest more the philatelist than the ordinary reader, but the work has necessarily had to be concentrated in this direction.

In describing the compound perforations, I have not followed the usual course of mentioning the top and bottom perforations first, and the side perforations last, but have placed them in rotative order beginning with the widest, thus :—

No.		Top and Bottom	at Sides	Mentioned as
349	2 *sen* Drab ...	9½ × 9	9 × 9½	*m/m.*
353	„ ...	11 × 9	9 × 11	„
363	„ ...	12½ × 9½	9½ × 12½	„
380	„ ...	11 × 12½	11 × 12½	„
383	„ ...	11½ × 11½	11½ × 11½	„
391	„ ...	12½ × 13	12½ × 13	„
397	„ ...	13½ × 13½	13½ × 13½	„

Also in mentioning Japanese characters, instead of writing them from right to left as they generally appear on the stamps, I have adopted the modern innovation that when such Japanese characters serve as illustrations in foreign literature, they are written from left to right.

I refrain from referring to Post Cards, Envelopes, and Bands, as I consider these to belong to an entirely distinct category from adhesives.

The many difficulties presented by such a variety of subjects and its extremely complicated nature from a philatelic standpoint, make me well aware that this monograph will have many defects, and not be a complete description of all existing Japanese Postage Stamps, I must, therefore, ask the reader's kind indulgence for any inaccuracies and omissions that may possibly occur, though my investigations have covered about a score of years.

I may mention that Japanese literature on philately is practically nil, the only work coming under my notice is the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi** a pamphlet issued by the Printing Bureau of the Department of Communications during March, 1896. This I have consulted for official dates and other data. Exotic particulars are confined to meagre statements that contribute to make up catalogues of certain American, and Continental dealers in general postage stamps.

I have to acknowledge my grateful indebtedness to Mr. Itaro Kusaka, Superintendent of Foreign Mails at Kobe, for certain dates and numbers of Departmental Ordinances.

A. M. T. W.

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* History of the Postage Stamps of Japan.

A Summarized Catalogue of the Postage Stamps of Japan.

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD.

Although not a history of the Japanese Post Office, still a few notes on that institution by way of introductory remarks may prove of interest.

The transmission of despatches by couriers in Japan may be said to have begun in the Middle Ages. Only despatches of the Shōgunate were thus forwarded however, and it was not until early in the sixteenth century that commuication between private individuals were considered so important as to necessitate the establishment of reliable postal guilds in the principal towns of the Empire. These were mostly in the hands of private agencies known as *Hikyaku-yas*, whose means of carriage were generally confined to couriers. Later, provincial and urban postal institutions sprang up, but naturally, they possessed many defects. It was to do away with these disadvantages that the Government formally opened on the 1st March, 1871, a letter post service between Tōkyō, Yokohama, Kyōto and Ōsaka. The system was modelled upon those that at the time were in vogue in America and Europe, and the first set of four postage stamps was issued on the day the new

scheme went into operation, whilst postal regulations were promulgated, and the provincial authorities entrusted with the superintendence of the business connected with the new service.

Previous to these innovations, the Civil Government had laid before the Central Government a proposition recorded in the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi* as follows :—
"The public recognize the great importance of the establish-
"ment of a regular postal system in this country. Up to the
"present time messages and letters are still entrusted to private
"messengers or carriers and heavy fees are charged for them.
"This cause the public to regret the want of arrangements for
"facilitating the means of communication. If, at the present
"time, the Government would organize a postal system and
"thus facilitate communications both for the public and for
"private individuals, it would be greatly conducive to the
"public benefit."

Early in 1872, the newly instituted postal route was extended to Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hakodate.

Very soon the necessity of providing means of communication with foreign lands arising from the growing tendency of international intercourse, led the Government (at the instance of H.E. Mitsu Mayeshima, the then General Post-master who had visited England to study the postal system) to perfect arrangements with the United States of America, British, and French postal agencies that then existed at Yokohama, Kōbe and Nagasaki for the transmission of foreign mails in foreign bottoms. This convention came into force in March, 1872. During the following year, however, the Government sent Mr. S. M. Bryan, then in the service of the Japanese Post Office Department, over to the United States of America to conclude arrangements for the direct exchange of mails. This resulted in the signing of a Postal Convention between the two countries which became effective on the 1st January, 1875, on which date the United States of America withdrew its Postsl agencies in Japan.

During 1876, H.E. Shuzō Aoki, at the time Japanese Minister to the court of Germany, urged the Imperial Government to become a party to the General Postal Union convention. The recommendation was favorably considered and acted upon, Japan being formally admitted into the General Postal Union (now l'Union Postale Universelle) on June 20th, 1877.

Excellent progress in the service was made, which obtained confidence abroad, with the consequent discontinuance of the postal agencies of Great Britain on December 31st, 1880, and those of France three months later. To Viscount Nomura who visited Germany to study the postal system, great credit is due for the many improvements inaugurated in the Japanese service, while the late Signor Chiossone when adviser to the Printing Bureau, designed the greater part of the stamps of Japan.

These few words of description on the development of the Postal service in Japan will be sufficient for my purpose, and I will abstain from giving statistics bearing on the mail matter handled by the Post Office. Suffice it to say that this institution to-day shows satisfactory progress, its ramifications extending to the most remote districts.

March 1871 Issue.

It was on the 2nd June 1870, that the decision to issue postage stamps was first adopted. This was consequent upon the petition made by the Civil to the Central Government, but it was not until the 1st March 1871 that the actual issue of Japanese stamps was made; it consisted of four values. The design is native, two outlined dragons being circumscribed within a Greek border; the value in Japanese characters is placed in the centre between the dragons and reads *seni hyaku mon* (錢百文), *seni ni hyaku mon* (錢二百文), etc.; these characters were printed separately in black type. The stamps were engraved in *taille douce* on Japanese handmade

wove or laid paper in sheets of 40 stamps printed in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, all differing more or less one from the other in various details, they are unperforated, ungummed, and square, the average size being 19¾ × 19¾ *m/m.* Two plates of the lowest denomination are known to exist, and one plate each of the higher values. During February, 1872, the issue was countermanded, and on November 30th 1889, their use through the mails was prohibited.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native handmade paper.

No.	1	48	*Mon*	Brown.
„	2	100	„	Dark blue.
„	3	200	„	Vermillion.
„	4	500	„	Green.
„	5	500	„	Blue green.
„	6	500	„	Yellow green.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish, close vertically laid native handmade paper, greatly resembling the *quadrille* paper.

No.	7	48	*Mon*	Pale brown.
„	8	48	„	Red brown.
„	9	48	„	Dark brown.
„	10	100	„	Pale blue.
„	11	100	„	Blue.
„	12	200	„	Vermillion.
„	13	200	„	Dark vermillion.
„	14	500	„	Pale yellow green.
„	15	500	„	Green.
„	16	500	„	Deep blue green.

An important London stamp dealer notes a variety of the 500 *mon* described as pale blue green, but I am of opinion that this shade does not exist, the mistake probably arising from faded specimens of the green denoted under No. 16.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish, wide vertically laid, native handmade paper, slightly varying in thickness.

No.	17	48	*Mon*	Pale brown.
„	18	48	„	Brown.
„	19	48	„	Dark brown.
„	20	100	„	Pale blue.
„	21	100	„	Dark blue.
„	22	200	„	Vermillion.
„	23	200	„	Dark vermillion.
„	24	500	„	Pale yellow green.
„	25	500	„	Green.
„	26	500	„	Blue green.

February 1872 Issue.

When the decimal system of currency was introduced in 1872, it was decided on January 18th of that year, that a corresponding alteration should be made in the value of stamps; the 48 *mon* becomming ½ *sen*, the 100 *mon* 1 *sen*, 200 *mon* 2 *sen* and 500 *mon* 5 *sen*. These four new varieties were issued during February 1872 but the ½ *sen* was stopped on September 1st of the same year, the 1 and 2 *sen* on 20th. July 1872, and 5 *sen* on 31st May, 1873, when, on these respective dates, new stamps were substituted for the three lowest denominations only; their validity to prepay postage was cancelled on the 30th of November, 1899. The design is practically identical with the preceding issue, the black characters denoting the value in the sentre of the stamps, only being altered to *ni sen* (貳錢), *go sen* (五錢), etc., antique numerals are used in the 1 and 2 *sen* in contradistinction to the previous issue, very likely to prevent forgery. Messrs. H. Collin and H. L. Calman declare that there are six plates of this issue in existance, two for each of the lower values, and one for each of the higher ones, whilst Mr. Moens says that

there was a third plate engraved for the half *sen*; it is generally recognized that the old plates of the 48 *mon* and 100 *mon* were utilized for one of the ½ *sen* and 1 *sen*, but Mr. Moens, however, mentions having seen only the plate of the 100 *mon* so used. Similarly with the previous issue, each sheet is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each varying in details one from the other, as they were separately engraved. The stamps are square, of the same size as the March 1871 issue, and are with and without gum, and perforated.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper, slightly varying in thickness.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No.	27	½ *sen*		Red brown.
„	28	1	„	Pale blue.
„	29	2	„	Vermillion.
„	30	5	„	Yellowgreen.
„	31	5	„	Pale yellow green.

2° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„	32	½ *sen*		Red brown.
„	33	1	„	Pale blue.
„	34	2	„	Vermillion.
„	35	5	„	Yellow green.

3° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„	36	½ *sen*		Gray brown.

SECTION II.—Thick yellowish woolly wove native paper.

1° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No.	37	½ *sen*		Dark brown.

Stanley Gibbons Limited gave the color of this last as Red brown, but Dark brown is undoubtedly nearer to its shade.

Of late many specialists are inclined to favor the theory that the so called wovepaper is nothing else than the laid paper with lines not shewing distinctly; the two papers in wove and laid were, however, separately used in printing this issue, nor will a good application of refined deodorized benzine make the wove paper show any lines.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish, close vertically laid native paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 38 ½ *sen* Red brown.

2° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 39 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 40 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 41 2 „ Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 42 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 43 ½ „ Red brown.
„ 44 ½ „ Deep brown.
„ 45 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 46 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 47 5 „ Pale blue.
„ 48 5 „ Yellow green.
„ 49 5 „ Blue green.

4° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 50 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 51 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 52 1 „ Blue green.

I have never seen this 1 *sen* Blue green chronicled, but I have possessed a specimen which I subjected to chemical tests, when, the color remained perfectly intact; I believe it to be an error, made doubtless while printing the 5 *sen* Blue green.

5° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 53 ½ *sen* Red brown.
„ 54 ½ „ Deep brown.
„ 55 ½ „ Gray brown.
„ 56 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 57 5 „ Pale blue.
„ 58 5 „ Blue green.

SECTION IV.—Thin yellowish wide vertically laid native paper.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 59 ½ *sen* Deep brown.
„ 60 1 „ Pale blue.

SECTION V.—Thin yellowish close vertically laid native paper, *batonne* horizontally.

1° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

No. 61 ½ *sen* Red brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 62 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 63 ½ „ Red brown.
„ 64 ½ „ Deep brown.
„ 65 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 66 2 „ Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 67 ½ *sen* Red brown.

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 68 ½ *sen* Red brown.

5° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 69 ½ *sen* Deep brown.
„ 70 ½ „ Red brown.
„ 71 ½ „ Gray brown.

A No. 1

A No. 2

A No. 3

A No. 4

A No. 5

A No. 6

A No. 7

A No. 8

A No. 9

A No. 10

Mr. Evans chronicles in this issue a 5 *sen* yellow green, on very thick heavy laid paper, whether close or wide vertically laid, he does not say, other authorities, however, disregard this statement.

There are two "Government counterfeits" in this series, the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen*; they were printed in March 1896 to serve to illustrate these stamps in the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi* (大日本帝國郵便切手沿革志). They are finer productions than those off the original plates and easily distinguishable, modern engraving conspiciously predominating. The paper is wove and perfectly white, whilst the color of the 1 *sen* is pale gray blue, and the 2 *sen* of a pale vermillion shade approximating to orange; they are ungummed and unperforated. Only about 50 copies of each are believed to exist.

"GOVERNMENT COUNTERFEITS."—Thin pure white wove foreign paper.

No. 72 1 *sen* Pale gray blue.
„ 73 2 „ Pale orange vermillion.

July 1872 Issue.

We have Government authority for the fact that owing to the plates of the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* of February, 1872 issue being worn out, two new designs of similar value were issued on July 20th 1872 in lieu thereof. This seemingly confirms the above statement that the old plates of the 48 *mon* and 100 *mon* were utilized for printing the ½ *sen* and 1 *sen* respectively issued during February.

Engraved in *taille douce* on various papers, the stamps are oblong measuring 19×22 ½ *m/m*. Nine plates of the 1 *sen* and two of the 2 *sen* are known to exist, each plate being composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, and being separately engraved, are thus different one from the other in minor details. The issue of the 1 *sen* was stopped

on February 4th 1875 whilst that of the 2 *sen* ceased on June 5th 1873, the validity of both to prepay postage was cancelled on the 30th November, 1889. The design represents two boughs crossed below at the end of the stems, on the left a stem of crysanthemums and on the right a branch of paulownia imperialis; the crysanthemum crest (菊紋) appearing above between the two ends; in the centre is inscribed *Yubin Kitte* (郵便切手); each croner consists of a cherry flower; in the top frame "1 SEN" and at the sides the value in Japanese characters in small squares on a mosaic ground.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m*

No. 74 2 *sen* Vermillion.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m*.

„ 75 2 *sen* Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

„ 76 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 77 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 78 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 79 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

4° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m*.

„ 80 2 *sen* Vermillion.

5° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m*.

„ 81 2 *sen* Vermillion.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

„ 82 1 „ Blue.
„ 83 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 84 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 85 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

7° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

No. 86 1 *sen* Dark blue.
„ 87 2 „ Vermillion.

8° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 88 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 89 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 90 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 91 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 92 1 *sen* Blue.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 93 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

SECTION II.—Thick yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 94 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 95 1 „ Dark blue.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 96 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 97 1 „ Dark blue.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 98 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 99 1 „ Dark blue.

The varieties in this section are comparatively scarce stamps.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish horizontally laid native paper, *vergeures* varying in width.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 100 1 *sen* Blue.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 101 2 *sen* Deep rosy vermillion.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 102 2 *sen* Deep rosy vermillion.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 103 1 *sen* Pale blue.
„ 104 1 „ Blue.
„ 105 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 106 2 „ Rosy vermillion.
„ 107 2 „ Deep rosy vermillion.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 108 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 109 2 „ Vermillion.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 110 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 111 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 112 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 113 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

7° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 114 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 115 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 116 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 117 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

8° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 118 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

9° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 119 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

A No. 11 A No. 12 A No. 13 A No. 14 A No. 15

A No. 16 A No. 17 A No. 18 A No. 19 A No. 20

September 1872 Issue.

Owing to the extension that took place in the postal routes to Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hokodate, the public demand for stamps greatly increased, and the want of higher denominations proved to be the source of great inconvenience to the public; in consequence, a new issue of 10 *sen*, 20 *sen* and 30 *sen* stamps in more elaborate design than heretofore, was made on September 1st, 1872. On this occasion a ½ *sen* stamp was issued in the design of the July, 1872 issue; these four new stamps were suppressed on February 4th, 1875. Engraved in *taille douce*, each plate is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each; of the ½ *sen* there are four plates, whilst the 10, 20 and 30 *sen* have one plate each. The sizes are, ½ *sen* 19 × 22½ *m/m.*, 10 *sen* 21 × 24 *m/m.*, 20 *sen* 22½ × 25½ *m/m.*, and 30 *sen* 24 × 27 *m/m.* I have already mentioned that the ½ *sen* is of same design as the 2 *sen* issued in July 1872; the others are somewhat similar with only slight varietions; the 10 *sen* instead of having two boughs in a semi-circle in the middle of the stamp, has two fabulous animals facing each other; in the top and bottom frames, "10 SEN," and at the sides the same value in Japanese characters in oblong spaces on a lattice ground; the 20 *sen* consists of a ring in the centre with the addition of a paulownia crest (桐紋) below, diametrically opposite to the crysanthemum crest (菊紋); the value is placed in the same position as the 10 *sen*, whilst the ground work in the side frames consists of vertical lines; the general appearance of the 30 *sen* differs slightly from the 2 *sen* July 1872 issue, the only alteration being the side frames that are in plain white ground. All these stamps bear the inscription *Yubin Kitte* (郵便切手) in the centre, and have different corner ornamentations within the centre square.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 120 10 *sen* Blue green.

2° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 121 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 122 10 „ Blue green.
„ 123 20 „ Lilac.
„ 124 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 125 30 „ Gray.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 126 10 *sen* Blue green.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 127 10 *sen* Blue green.
„ 128 10 „ Pale yellow green.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 129 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 130 10 „ Pale yellow green.

6° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 131 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 132 20 „ Dark mauve.

7° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 133 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 134 10 „ Blue green.
„ 135 20 „ Lilac.
„ 136 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 137 30 „ Gray.

8° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 138 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 139 10 „ Blue green.

9° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 140 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 141 10 „ Blue green.
„ 142 10 „ Deep green.
„ 143 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 144 30 „ Gray.

10° Perforated 12 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 145 20 *sen* Dark mauve.

11° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 146 30 *sen* Gray.

The ½ *sen* Bistre has also been perforated double on one side, but copies of this variety are exceedingly scarce.

VARIETY.

No. 147 ½ *sen* Bistre double perforation at one side.

SECTION II.—Thick wove paper, the ½ *sen* is on native and the 30 *sen* on foreign paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 148 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 149 30 „ Gray.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 150 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 151 ½ „ Ash.

3° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 152 ½ *sen* Bistre.

4° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 153 30 *sen* Gray.

Although the 30 *sen* stamp is classified under the date September 1872 issue, it is doubtful whether this stamp on

foreign wove paper was issued prior to February 1874, since we have it officially that it was only at this latter time that the use of foreign papers for the manufacture of stamps began; the above view would seemingly be correct, if the searcity of this stamp be also taken into consideration; this rarity can be accounted for by the fact that during the same month of February 1874, a new plate with a syllabic character was engraved which was immediately issued; doubtless only very few sheets of the 30 *sen* on European paper without the syllabic character were at the time printed.

SECTION III.—Thin horizontally laid native paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 154 ½ *sen* Bistre.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 155 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 156 10 „ Pale yellow green.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 157 10 *sen* Pale yellow green.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 158 10 *sen* Pale yellow green.
„ 159 20 „ Lilac.

Of all the stamps of Japan, this 20 *sen* Lilac on laid paper is undoubtedly the *rara avis;* I have only known of four copies to exist, and have seen only one. Fifteen years ago, a collector who had long resided at Ōsaka, sold the only copy he ever obtained to a collector in London for 25 guineas, but this was, certainly, even at that time, for below its real market value. It is extremely probable that when printing, one sheet of the thin horizontally laid native paper intended for the use of the ½ and 10 *sen*, was erroneously allowed to slip in among the thin wove native paper, this sheet being eventually sent out

in the usual course of distribution of stamps; no unused copies are known to exist. Assuming my theory to be correct, it will thus be observed that originally, only forty stamps were printed, and if one were to take into consideration the destruction of old correspondence, coupled with the fact that the Japanese people have taken little interest in stamp collecting, especially during the seventies, so as to be actuated with the desire of preserving old stamps, it can be fairly estimated that probably not more than half a dozen copies are in existence to-day.

There is another variety in this series which deserves special mention, it is the ½ *sen* bistre. In one of the four plates, the 23rd stamp was erroneously left incomplete during the process of engraving; on the left hand borders the two slanting strokes at the top of the Japanese character *han* of *han sen* (半錢) are absent, this makes the reading *Ki sen* (十錢) on one side and *han sen* (半錢) on the other. This peculiarity has led native dealers to give it the appelation of *Kisen.* Various authorities agree that it exists on both thin wove and laid paper, but I have seen it on thick wove paper as well.

ERROR.

SECTION I.—Thin wove native paper.

Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 160 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 161 ½ „ Dark bistre.

SECTION II.—Thick wove paper.

Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

No. 162 ½ *sen* Bistre.

SECTION III.—Thin horizontally laid native paper.

Perforated ?

No. 163 ½ *sen* Bistre.

April 1873 Issue.

For the convenience of the public, a stamp of the new value of 4 *sen* was issued on 1st April 1873 by Finance Department notification No. 120 dated 30th March 1873, the stamp was suppressed on 4th February 1875. The type, impression, etc. are identical to the July 1872 issue. Seven plates have been discovered to exist, and like the preceding issues, each plate is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, each stamp measuring 19 × 22½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish native wove paper.

1° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 164 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 165 4 *sen* Pale rose.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 166 4 *sen* Pale rose.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 167 4 *sen* Pale rose.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish native laid paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 168 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 169 4 *sen* Pale rose.

„ 170 4 „ Bright rose.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 171 4 *sen* Pale rose.

A No. 21

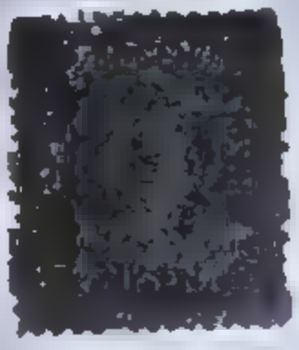
A No. 22

A No. 23

A No. 24

A No. 25

A No. 26



A No. 27

A No. 28

A No. 29

A No. 30

A No. 31

A No. 32

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 172 4 *sen* Pale rose.

5° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 173 4 *sen* Pale rose.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 174 4 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 175 4 „ Bright rose.

SECTION III.—Thick European wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 176 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 177 4 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 178 4 „ Bright rose.

Like the 30 *sen* gray September 1872 issue, this 4 *sen* on thick European wove paper, can be positively asserted not to have been issued previous to February 1874.

June 1873 Issue.

The simultaneous use of two stamps of different denomination in the same color and design, viz., the 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion of the July 1872 issue, and 4 *sen* pale rose just described, often led the officials of the Post Office to confound one with the other, hence an alteration in the color of the former, which was transformed into yellow, the issue taking place on the 5th June 1873 by Notification No. 127 of the Finance Department, and was in turn suppressed on the 17th May 1876. The type and impression remained the same, also the number and order of rows on the plates, of which three differing from the July 1872 issue are known to exist, thus making five plates in all.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish native wove paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 179 2 *sen* Yellow.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 180 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 181 2 „ Orange.

3° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 182 2 „ Yellow.

A New York dealer recently catalogued one of these 2 *sen* yellow on thick wove paper, but it is a question if this paper has ever been used, many authorities ignoring this statement, nor have I ever seen a specimen of this supposed variety.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish native laid paper.

1° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

No. 183 2 *sen* Yellow.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 184 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 185 2 „ Deep yellow.
„ 186 2 „ Orange.
„ 187 2 „ Greenish yellow.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 188 2 *sen* Yellow

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 189 2 *sen* Orange.

The 2 *sen* orange on this paper has also been perforated double on one side, copies are, however, not easily obtainable.

VARIETY.

No. 190 2 *sen* Yellow double perforation at one side.

SECTION III.—Thick woolly native laid paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

No. 191 2 *sen* Yellow.

January 1874 Issue.

On the adoption of a uniform rate of postage, the necessity of a stamp of the value of 6 *sen* became apparent, and on the 1st January 1874, an adhesive of that denomination was issued by Notification No. 395 of the Finance Department; its suppression took place on the 4th, February of the following year. It is engraved in *taille douce* on various papers, and only one plate consisting of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each was made; each stamp differs one from the other in minor details, having been separately engraved. The design is entirely new and original; a garter enclosing ornamental ground-work, with the crysanthemum crest exactly in the centre, at the sides of this, the inscription (郵便切手) *Yubin Kitte* appers; the four corners are filled with floral ornaments; the value "6 SEN" is placed at the top and bottom within the ribbon of the garter, the same in the vernacular being inscribed at the sides; the shape is oblong, the stamp measuring 20 × 22½ *m/m.*

During 1874, stamps were issued with on additional small character taken from the *katakana* syllabary; these marks are generally known in Europe and America as syllabic characters, and they correspond to what philatelists term plate numbers, somewhat similar to the system adopted by Great Britain on her early issues. The purpose of changing the letters after a certain number of impressions had been taken, was to facilitate the control of checking the number of stamps issued, and in the case of Japanese postage stamps, after 10000 with one character had been printed, the plate then underwent a change by the substitution of a different character. The *Dai Nihon Tei-*

koku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi (大日本帝國郵便切手沿革志) states that the adoption of the *katakana* syllabary on stamps began on September 12th 1874 in consequence of Notification No. 96 issued on the same day by the Home Department. Whilst this statement is official, it is open to donbt if the introduction of this control system did not anticipate Notification No. 96, for, we learn from the same official source that the 6 *sen* stamp was issued on January 1st 1874, and yet this stamp has not been issued without the syllabic character, which is placed a little below the buckle of the garter; it is difficult to reconcile this statement with the one declaring that the adoption of the *katakana* syllabary on stamps was made on September 12th 1874.

SECTION I.—Thin native wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 192 6 *sen* Violet brown.

Syllabic characters: イ ロ ハ ニ ホ ヘ ト チ リ ヌ ル

SECTION II.—Thin native laid paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 193 6 *sen* Violet brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 194 6 *sen* Violet brown.

Syllabic characters: イ ロ ハ ニ ホ ヘ ト チ リ ヌ ル ヲ

There are a few copies of this stamp existing with double perforation at one side, they are rare varieties, and have the character ホ

VARIETY.

No. 195 6 *sen* Violet brown double perforation at one side.

February 1874 Issue.

Seven denominations comprise this emission, which may be called the characterized series of the stamps used since July 1872, differing from them only in that the syllabic characters were added to their faces; the designs of the 1 and 2 *sen* are similar to those of July 1872, of the ½, 10, 20 and 30 *sen* to those of September 1872, of the 4 *sen* to that of April 1873, and of the 6 *sen* to that of January 1874; the character in the ½, 1, 2 and 4 *sen* stamps will be found in a small square where the stems of the floral branches cross each other, whilst in the 30 *sen* stamp, the square changes into an oval; in the 10 and 20 *sen* stamps the character is placed in a square just above the value in foreign letters at the bottom of the stamp. The ½ *sen* has three plates, the 4 *sen* two, and the other denominations only one plate each.

SECTION I.—Thin native laid paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 196 30 *sen* Slate.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 197 2 *sen* Yellow.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 198 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 199 10 „ Green.
„ 200 20 „ Violet.
„ 201 30 „ Slate.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 202 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 203 10 „ Green.
„ 204 20 „ Violet.
„ 205 30 „ Slate.

5° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No.	206	2 *sen*	Yellow.
„	207	10 „	Green.
„	208	20 „	Violet.
„	209	30 „	Slate.

Syllabic characters: 2 *sen* イタ
10 „ イ
20 „ イロハ
30 „ イ

SECTION II.—Thick European white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 10 m/m.

No.	210	4 *sen*	Claret rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„	211	½ *sen*	Brown.
„	212	1 „	Blue.
„	213	2 „	Canary yellow.
„	214	4 „	Claret rose.
„	215	6 „	Violet brown.
„	216	10 „	Green.
„	217	20 „	Mauve.
„	218	30 „	Gray.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„	219	1 *sen*	Blue.
„	220	2 „	Canary yellow.

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„	221	6 *sen*	Violet brown.

5° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„	222	2 *sen*	Canary yellow.
„	223	10 „	Green.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 224 ½ *sen* Brown.
„ 225 1 „ Blue.
„ 226 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 227 4 „ Claret rose.
„ 228 6 „ Violet brown.
„ 229 10 „ Green.
„ 230 20 „ Mauve.
„ 231 30 „ Gray.

7° Perforated 11½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 232 ½ *sen* Brown.
„ 233 1 „ Blue.

8° Perforated 11½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 234 10 *sen* Green.

9° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 235 6 *sen* Violet brown.

10° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 236 ½ *sen* Brown.
„ 237 1 „ Blue.
„ 238 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 239 6 „ Violet brown.
„ 240 10 „ Green.
„ 241 20 „ Mauve.
„ 242 30 „ Gray.

11° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 243 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 244 6 „ Violet brown.
„ 245 10 „ Green.

12° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 246 ½ *sen* Brown.

No. 247 2 *sen* Canary yellow.
„ 248 10 „ Green.

Syllabic characters :

½ *sen* イ ロ
1 „ イ ロ ハ ニ ホ ヘ ト チ リ ヌ ル ヲ
2 „ イ ロ ハ ニ ホ ヘ ト チ リ ヌ ル ヲ ワ カ ヨ タ レ ソ ツ ネ ナ ラ ム
4 „ イ
6 „ ヌ ル ワ カ ヨ タ レ ソ
10 „ イ ロ ハ
20 „ ニ ホ
30 „ イ

January 1875 Issue.

When the postal convention between the United States of America and Japan was concluded, three new stamps for use in the foreign mails were issued on the 1st January 1875, although Notification No. 1 of the Home Department by which this set was announced, is dated January 4th 1875. The value are, 12 *sen*. 15 *sen* and 45 *sen*; the designs are entirely different from the former series, each stamp being illustrated by a different bird on a colored groundwork figuring for land, the whole encircled by a ring, the 45 *sen* represents an eagle in the acts of spreading its wings; over the circle, in a band, is inscribed 郵便切手 (*Yubin Kitte*) the *Kiku* crest appearing between the letters of *Yubin* and *Kitte*, in both sides of the ring the value in the vernacular appears, and at the top and bottom the value in foreign letters, the syllabic character is placed at the extreme bottom of the circle between two upright lines thus forming a square ; this square stands between the numerals of value and the word SEN, the remaining portions of the stamp outside the circle are filled with various ornamentations. The 12 and 15 *sen* ceased to be issued on June 29th 1877, and the

45 *sen* on the 18th August the same year. They are engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary foreign wove paper with one exception. There is only one plate for each value and each sheet consists of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each. Size 19½ × 22½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Ordinary foreign white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 249 45 *sen* Crimson lake.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 250 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 251 15 „ Mauve.
„ 252 45 „ Crimson lake.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 253 15 *sen* Mauve.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 254 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 255 15 „ Mauve.
„ 256 45 „ Crimson lake.

5° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 257 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 258 15 „ Mauve.
„ 259 45 „ Crimson lake.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 260 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 261 15 „ Mauve.
„ 262 45 „ Crimson lake.

7° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 263 12 *sen* Pale rose.

No. 264 15 *sen* Mauve.
„ 265 45 „ Crimson lake.

Syllabic characters: 12 *sen* イ ロ ハ
15 „ イ ロ ハ
45 „ イ ロ ハ

SECTION II.—Ordinary foreign white laid paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 266 15 *sen* Mauve with only syllabic character イ

February 1875 Issue.

In accordance with the suggestion made by the Government Printing Office to show better colors in the higher face values, seven new stamps were issued on February 4th 1875 by Home Department Notification No. 16, and were substituted for those in use until then. The new series comprised the ½ *sen*, 1 *sen*, 4 *sen*, 6 *sen*, 10 *sen*, 20 *sen* and 30 *sen* denominations. The impression is similar to those issued during 1874, but the 10, 20 and 30 *sen* are reduced in size to 19½ × 22 *m/m*, thus bringing the series into greater uniformity. All have syllabic characters in the places already described, with the exception of the 6 *sen*, which, beginning with the letter ツ, is placed at the bottom of the stamp within a small oval directly under the letter S of the word "S E N"; this oval replaces the first small hole in the strap of the garter. The ½, 1, 4, 6 and 20 *sen* have two plates each, and the 10 and 30 *sen* only one, all consisting of forty varieties as in the preceding emissions and engraved in *taille douce* These stamps were suppressed in the following order, ½ and 1 *sen* on May 17th 1876, 4 *sen* on June 23rd 1876, 6 and 10 *sen* on June 29th 1877, 20 and 30 *sen* on August 18th 1877. Concurrently with the above, the 1 *sen* and 4 *sen* were printed, forty varieties to the sheet, in identical design, but without any syllabic character, the stems of the

A No. 33

A No. 34

A No. 35

A No. 36

A No. 37

A No. 38

A No. 39

A No. 40

A No. 41

branches being simply crossed as in the July 1872 series. This type of the 1 *sen* has only one plate, the 4 *sen* four, of which three were utilized in printing the 4 *sen* pale rose April 1873 issue.

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper, with syllabic character.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 267 ½ *sen* Ash.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 268 4 *sen* Green.

3° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 269 6 *sen* Orange.

4° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 270 4 *sen* Green.
„ 271 6 „ Orange.

5° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 272 1 *sen* Brown.

6° Perforated 10½ 10½ *m/m.*

„ 273 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 274 4 „ Green.

7° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 275 6 *sen* Orange.

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 276 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 277 1 „ Brown.
„ 278 4 „ Green.
„ 279 6 „ Orange.
„ 280 10 „ Blue.

No. 281 20 *sen* Carmine.
„ 282 30 „ Violet.

9° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 283 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 284 4 „ Green.
„ 285 6 „ Orange.
„ 286 30 „ Violet.

10° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 287 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 288 6 „ Orange.

11° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 289 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 290 10 „ Blue.

12° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 291 6 *sen* Orange.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 292 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 293 1 „ Brown.
„ 294 4 „ Green.
„ 295 6 „ Orange.
„ 296 10 „ Blue.
„ 297 20 „ Carmine.
„ 298 30 „ Violet.

Syllabic characters :

½ *sen* ロハニ
1 „ ホトチヲワカヨタレ
4 „ イロハ
6 „ ヌルヲカヨタレソツネナラ
10 „ ニホ
20 „ チ
30 „ ロハニ

In this series many forgeries of the 6 *sen* orange have been found officially obliterated, postmarks shew that these imitations got into circulation during 1876. It is apparent that these forgeries were not intended for sale to collectors, but were made to defraud the government, whose officials probably not being well versed with the rules or the stamps themselves thirty years ago, did not discover that the letters were franked with forged stamps. Six *sen* in those days probably meant much to the counterfeiters, as the purchasing value was more than double what it is to-day, and the standard of living very much below that of our time.

Although ten thousand stamps of each syllabic character are declared to have been printed, the characters ま, ソ and ラ of the 6 *sen* denomination are exceedingly rare specimens, notwithstanding their juxtaposition.

SECTION II.—Ordinary white laid paper.

1° Perforated ?

No. 299 1 *sen* Brown with syllabic character レ

SECTION III.—Ordinary white wove paper, without syllabic character.

1° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 300 1 *sen* Brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 301 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 302 4 „ Green.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 303 4 *sen* Green.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 304 4 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 305 4 *sen* Green.

During March 1875, a proposition was made by the General Post Office to illustrate postage stamps with the effigies of Japanese loyalists, but this suggestion did not meet with the approval of the then Prime Minister, and the matter was dropped. Notification No. 104 of the Home Department announced that from June 11th 1875 the practice of printing syllabic characters upon postage stamps would be discontinued on account of the adoption of the process of electrotyping, in substitution for the *taille douce* method of engraving. The printing of the three new stamps issued subsequent to this date, however, was not affected by the electrotype process.

August 1875 Issue.

Although two new stamps of the value of 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* were issued in August 1875, the 1 *sen* was not actually put on sale before the early part of 1876. The type is similar to the issue just described, with the only difference that the branches, instead of being crossed, are tied with a bow of ribbons. They are engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary white wove paper; only one plate for each value was made, which was composed of forty stamps in the same manner as in the preceding issue.

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper, without syllabic character.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 306 1 *sen* Brown.

2° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 307 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 308 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 309 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 310 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 311 2 „ Lemon.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 312 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 313 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 314 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 315 2 „ Lemon.

7° Perforated 12 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 316 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

8° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 317 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 318 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 319 2 „ Lemon.

9° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 320 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 321 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 322 2 „ Lemon.

It will thus be observed that during the year 1875, the 1 *sen* brown made its appearance with three variations in minor details, sufficient for the claim of entire distinctiveness—i.e. during February we see it appear with a syllabic character in a square just where the branches meet, also these stems crossing each other without any syllabic character, while in August a bow of ribbon takes the place once occupied by those symbols.

March 1876 Issue.

By Notification No. 32 of the Home Department, a 5 *sen* stamp was again issued on the 19th March 1876 to fill the

demand of an adhesive of that denomination for inland correspondence, and it was suppressed three months later, on June 23rd 1876. It is engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary white wove paper. Only one plate of forty minor varieties, as in the preceding issues, was made. The design is similar to the 6 *sen* January 1874 issue, with the exception that the value in Arabic figures is replaced at the top of the garter with the inscription 郵便切手 (*Yubin Kitte*); the former place of this inscription and the ornamental groundwork within the centre of the garter are occupied with branches and flowers of the paulownia imperialis, while the crysanthemum crest has been removed higher up. These slight alterations give the stamp a decidedly more attractive appearance. The syllabic character is absent. Size 19¾ × 22 *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 323 5 *sen* Emerald green.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 324 5 *sen* Emerald green.

3° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 325 5 *sen* Emerald green.

4° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 326 5 *sen* Emerald green.

5° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 327 5 *sen* Emerald green.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 328 5 *sen* Emerald green.

May 1876 Issue.

These stamps, of entirely new design, made their appearance on May 17th 1876 in accordance with Home Department Notification No. 71, when in turn the issue of the two higher values was stopped on 11th October 1879, and the 5 *rin* on the comparatively recent date of April 1st 1899, thus making a period of twenty three years that this stamp was in constant use, the longest life that any Japanese postage stamp has thus far attained. The *han sen* (半錢) stamp bade us farewell, making room for its more conventional brother the *go rin* (五厘), the other values being 1 and 2 *sen* respectively. The stamps were printed on white wove paper in sheets of eighty stamps in eight horizontal rows of ten stamps each. The design of the 5 *rin* represents a sphere in the exact centre of the stamp, in which the value in native characters is placed; above the sphere the crysanthemum crest, and below the paulownia crest, the whole being circumscribed within an oval ring in which the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) is placed in the upper section, and "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" in the lower one; triangular ornaments are in the upper and lower angles, the top one on the sinister side containing the numeral "5" and on the dexter side the letter "R," the same *vice versâ* below. The 1 *sen* stamp is practically the same in design with the exception that in the corners there are four small circles in which the numeral "1" and the symbol "SN" appear in like manner to the "5" and "R" in the 5 *rin* stamp; the 2 *sen* stamp is identical with the 1 *sen*, with the exception that these circles are altered into squares. Size 18¾ 22½ *m/m*.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No.	329	5 *rin*	Slate.
,,	330	1 *sen*	Black.
,,	331	2 ,,	Drab.

SECTION II.—Thin soft silky white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 332 2 *sen* Drab.

2° Perforated 9 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 333 2 *sen* Drab.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 334 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 335 1 *sen* Black.
„ 336 2 „ Drab.

4° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 337 2 *sen* Drab.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 338 2 *sen* Drab.

6° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 339 2 *sen* Drab.

7° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 340 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 341 1 *sen* Black.
„ 342 2 „ Drab.

8° Perforated 11½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 343 2 *sen* Drab.

SECTION III.—Ordinany medium white wove paper

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 344 5 *rin* Slate.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 345 5 *rin* Slate.

No. 346 1 *sen* Black.
„ 347 2 „ Drab.

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 348 1 *sen* Black.
„ 349 2 „ Drab.

4° Perforated 9 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 350 1 *sen* Black.
„ 351 2 „ Drab.

5° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 352 1 *sen* Black.
„ 353 2 „ Drab.

6° Perforated 9 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 354 2 *sen* Drab,

7° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 355 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 356 1 *sen* Black.
„ 357 2 „ Drab.

8° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 358 1 *sen* Black.
„ 559 2 „ Drab.

9° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 360 1 *sen* Black.
„ 361 2 „ Drab.

10° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 362 1 *sen* Black.
„ 363 2 „ Drab.

11° Perforated 9½ × 13 *m/m.*

No. 364 1 *sen* Black.
„ 365 2 „ Drab.

12° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 366 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 367 1 *sen* Black.
„ 368 2 „ Drab.

13° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 369 5 *rin* Greenish gray.

14° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 370 1 *sen* Black.
„ 371 2 „ Drab.

15° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 372 2 *sen* Drab.

16° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 373 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 374 1 *sen* Black.
„ 375 2 „ Drab.

17° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 376 5 *rin* Slate.

18° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 377 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 378 1 *sen* Black.
„ 379 2 „ Drab.

19° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 380 2 *sen* Drab.

20° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 381 5 *rin* Slate.

No. 382 1 *sen* Black.
„ 383 2 „ Drab.

21° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 384 5 *rin* Slate.

22° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 385 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 386 1 *sen* Black.
„ 387 2 „ Drab.

23° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 388 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 389 1 *sen* Black.
„ 390 2 „ Drab.

24° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 391 2 *sen* Drab.

25° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 392 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 393 1 *sen* Black.
„ 394 2 „ Drab.

26° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 395 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 396 1 *sen* Black.
„ 397 2 „ Drab.

Shades: 5 *rin* Ash to Slate.
1 *sen* Dull pale black to Jet black.
2 „ Drab pale to dark.

I have dispensed with notifying individual shades, as they are numerous but generally not distinct enough to enter into classification; in the following descriptions, also, I shall only mention such shades as philatelists would consider of sufficient

importance to be classified as a variety. The 2 *sen* drab is the only Japanese postage stamp that has been perforated in the largest number of combinations.

June 1876 issue.

The two values issued by ordinance No. 92 of the Home Department on June 23rd 1876, were of 4 *sen* and 5 *sen* denominations; the emission was due to the electrotype process which the Government had adopted in printing its stamps. The 4 *sen* ceased to be issued on 10th March 1888 and the 5 *sen* on January 1st 1883. The design of the 4 *sen* is substantially the same as that of the 1 *sen* of May 1876 issue, save for the ground of the inner oval outside the sphere, which is filled with ornamental work. The 5 *sen* is an entirely new type; the oval in the middle of the stamp represents crossed branches of crysanthemums and paulownias, with the Imperial crest between, over which there is a scintillating star; in the outer circle of the great oval appears the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) above, and 五錢 (*go sen*) below, all in Japanese characters; mercurial wheels fill the corners formed by the rectangular frame around the great oval; in the top frame "JAPANESE EMPIRE" and in the bottom one "FIVE SEN," at the sides the word "POST;" in the four corners of the frame there are small circles within which the numeral "5" and its Roman equivalent are put alternately. The size of the 4 *sen* is 18¾ × 22½ *m/m* and the 5 *sen* 19 × 22½ *m/m*.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No. 398 4 *sen* Green.
„ 399 5 „ Brown.

SECTION II.—Thin soft silky white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 400 4 *sen* Green.
„ 401 5 „ Brown.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 402 4 *sen* Green.
„ 403 5 „ Brown.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 404 5 *sen* Brown.

4° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 405 4 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 406 4 *sen* Green.

SECTION III.—Ordinary medium white wove paper.

1° Perforated 8 × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 407 4 *sen* Green.

2° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

„ 408 4 *sen* Green.

3° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m.*

„ 409 4 *sen* Green.

4° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 410 4 *sen* Green.
„ 411 5 „ Brown.

5° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 412 4 *sen* Green.
„ 413 5 „ Brown.

6° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 414 4 *sen* Green.
„ 415 5 „ Brown.

7° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 416 4 *sen* Green.
„ 417 5 „ Brown.

8° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 418 4 *sen* Green.
„ 419 5 „ Brown.

9° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 420 5 *sen* Brown.

10° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 421 4 *sen* Green.

11° Perforated 9½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 422 4 *sen* Green.

12° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 423 4 *sen* Green.
„ 424 5 „ Brown.

13° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 425 4 *sen* Green.

14° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

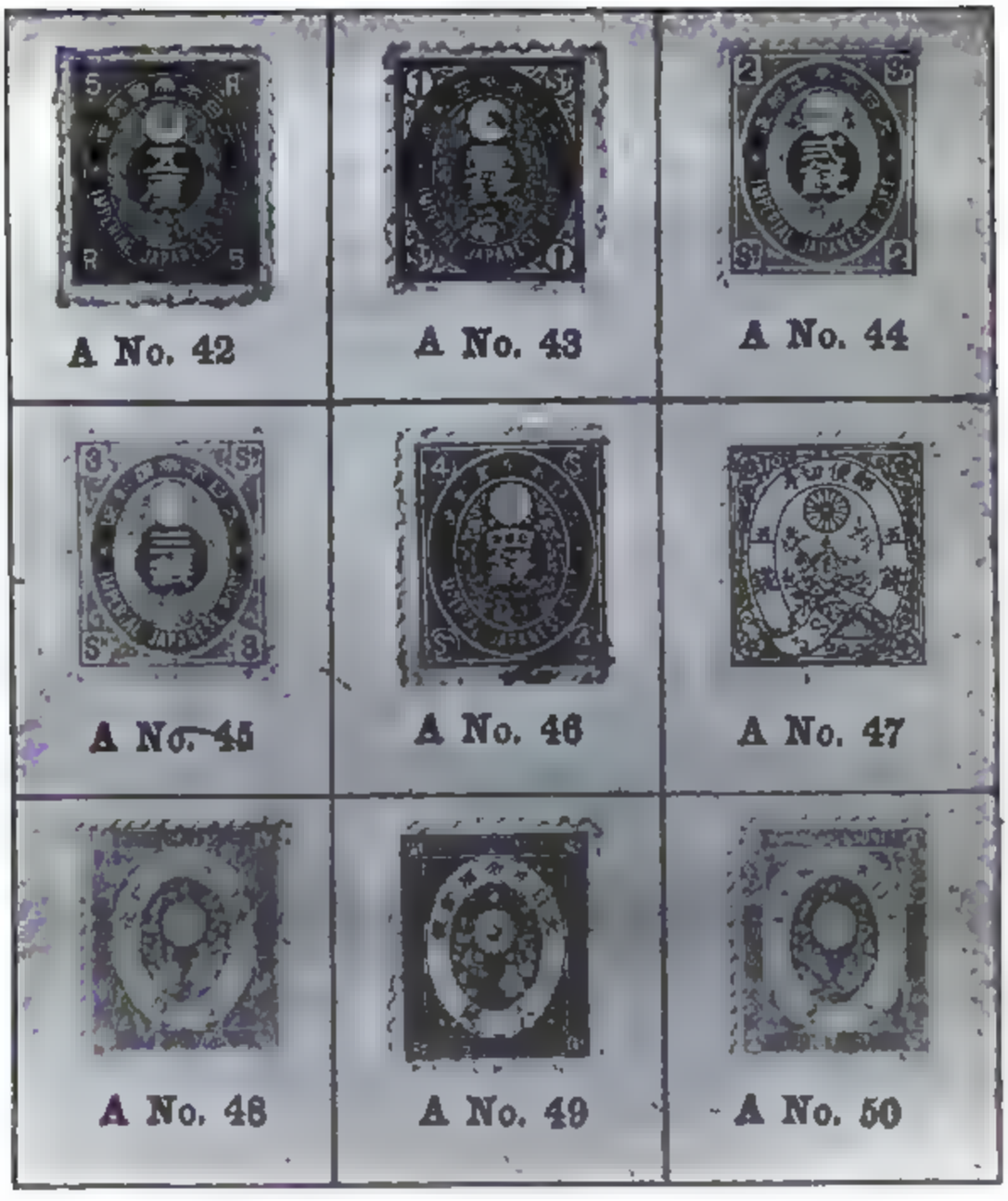
„ 426 4 *sen* Green.
„ 427 5 „ Brown.

15° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 428 5 *sen* Brown.

16° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 429 4 *sen* Green.



A No. 42 | A No. 43 | A No. 44

A No. 45 | A No. 46 | A No. 47

A No. 48 | A No. 49 | A No. 50

17° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 430 4 *sen* Green.
„ 431 5 „ Brown.

18° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 432 4 *sen* Green.

19° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 433 4 *sen* Green.

20° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 434 4 *sen* Green.
„ 435 5 „ Brown.

21° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 436 4 *sen* Green.

22° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 437 4 *sen* Blue green.
„ 438 4 „ Green.
„ 439 4 „ Greenish blue.

23° Perforated 13½ × 14 *m/m.*

„ 440 4 *sen* Green.

The 4 *sen* perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m* appears not to have been put on sale to the public before February 1888, say about a month before it was withdrawn from circulation.

June 1877 Issue.

Four new stamps were printed and issued on 29th June 1877 in accordance with Home Department ordinance No. 47. These are the 6 *sen*, 10 *sen*, 12 *sen* and 15 *sen*, they were all eventually withdrawn from circulation on 10th March 1888. The 6, 10 and 12 *sen* are identical with the 5 *sen* of June 1876

issue, with the exception of the ornament at the inner corners formed by the frame around the oval circle, the 10 *sen* consisting of a horseshoe and whip, and the 12 *sen*, of a balloon. The 15 *sen* stamp is a decided improvement over any type heretofore designed and is quite an elaborate impression; the oval at the centre contains branches of crysanthemums and paulownias, the Imperial crest reposing over the stems where they cross; above this a rising sun figures prominently; in the upper portion of the ring around the oval, are the Japanese characters 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*), and the value in the vernacular in the lower section; a crescent at the left and the *kiri* crest at the dexter side of this ring add to the effective appearance of the stamp; at the top corners, in a ribbon, "IMPERIAL POST" on the left, and "JAPANESE POST" on the right; at each bottom corner large numerals of value in a circle, with the word SEN in a colorless label between and touching these circles. Size of 15 *sen*, 18½ × 22½ *m/m*, the others, same as the 5 *sen* of the immediately preceding issue.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No. 441 10 *sen* Blue.

SECTION II.—Ordinary white wove paper.

1° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m*.

No. 442 15 *sen* Pale Green.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m*.

„ 443 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 444 10 „ Blue.
„ 445 12 „ Pale rose.
„ 446 12 „ Dark rose.
„ 447 15 „ Pale Green.
„ 448 15 „ Dark „

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 449 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 450 10 „ Blue.

4° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 451 15 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 9 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 452 12 *sen* Pale rose.

6° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 453 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 454 10 „ Blue.
„ 455 12 „ Dark rose.
„ 456 15 „ Green.

7° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 457 10 *sen* Blue.

8° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 458 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 459 15 „ Green.

9° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 460 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 461 15 „ Green.

10° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 462 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 463 10 „ Blue.
„ 464 15 „ Green.

11° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 465 15 *sen* Green.

12° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 466 10 *sen* Blue.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 467 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 468 15 „ Green.

14° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 469 15 *sen* Green.

15° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 470 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 471 10 „ Blue.
„ 472 15 „ Green.

16° Perforated 13 × 13 ½ *m/m.*

„ 473 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 474 15 „ Green.

17° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 475 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 476 10 „ Blue.
„ 477 15 „ Green.

Various authorities agree that the last perforation on these three stamps was first issued during February 1888, in which case it was hardly a month in use. Specimens are, however, by no means rare. Stanley Gibbons Ltd. mention the 10 and 15 *sen* in a 14 × 14 *m/m* perforation, but among the large quantity of these stamps handled by me, not a single copy of this variety was ever found of either value.

August 1877 Issue.

In conformity whith the decision adopted to print all stamps by the electrotype process, the 20, 30 and 45 *sen* stamps were issued by Home Department ordinance No. 59 on August 18th 1877 in design exactly the same as the 15 *sen* of June 1877 issue; one hundred stamps to the sheet in ten horizontal rows

of ten stamps each. They were all suppressed on the 10th March 1888, and on November 30th of the following year their use through the mails was prohibited. Only the ordinary foreign white wove paper was used for these stamps.

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 478 20 *sen* Deep blue.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 479 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 480 30 „ Pale violet.
„ 481 45 „ Carmine.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 482 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 483 30 „ Pale violet.
„ 484 45 „ Carmine.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 485 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 486 45 „ Carmine.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 487 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 488 30 „ Pale violet.

6° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 489 30 *sen* Pale violet.

7° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 490 20 *sen* Deep blue.

8° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 491 20 *sen* Deep blue.

9° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 492 20 *sen* Deep blue.

The three last perforations are generally recognized as having been issued during February 1888.

November 1877 Issue.

On November 20th 1877 a stamp of the denomination of 8 *sen* made its appearance for the first time. Ordinance No. 78 of the Home Department announced its advent; it was, however, withdrawn on March 10th 1888. The design is of the type of the 10 *sen* June 1877 issue, but the ornament at the inner corners formed by the frame around the oval circle, consists of a propeller. The stamp is printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten adhesives each, and measures about 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 493 8 *sen* Puce.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 494 8 *sen* Puce.

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 495 8 *sen* Puce.

4° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 496 8 *sen* Puce.

5° Perforated 9½ 10 *m/m.*

„ 497 8 *sen* Puce.

6° Perforated 9½ × 12 ½ *m/m.*

„ 498 8 *sen* Puce.

7° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 499 8 *sen* Puce.

A No. 51
A No. 52
A No. 53
SEN
A No. 54
A No. 55
A No. 56
SEN
A No. 57
SEN
A No. 58
A No. 59

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 500 8 *sen* Puce.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 501 8 *sen* Puce.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 502 8 *sen* Puce.

11° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 503 8 *sen* Puce.

12° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 504 8 *sen* Puce.

The color of this stamp has been variously denoted in catalogues as "violet brown," "purple," "brown shades," &c., the color term "puce," however, is the nearest approximation to the real shade. It may be observed that the four last perforations are assumed not to have been issued prior to February 1888.

June 1879 Issue.

The two stamps issued on 30th June 1879 by Home Department ordinance No. 24, were of two values that had not been issued heretofore, viz.: 3 and 50 *sen.* The 3 *sen* is of the type of the 1 *sen* black May 1876 issue, and the 50 *sen* of the type of the 15 *sen* green June 1877 issue, save that the crescent at the sinister side and the *kiri* crest at the dexter side of the ring forming the oval are each replaced by a five point star. They are printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper. The Government ceased issuing these two stamps on March 10th 1888. Size for both 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 505 50 *sen* Carmine.
„ 506 50 „ Orange red.

2° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 507 3 *sen* Orange.
„ 508 3 „ Lemon.
„ 509 50 „ Carmine.
„ 510 50 „ Orange red.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 511 3 *sen* Orange.
„ 512 3 „ Lemon.
„ 513 50 „ Carmine.
„ 514 50 „ Orange red.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 515 3 *sen* Orange.
„ 516 3 „ Lemon.
„ 517 50 „ Carmine.
„ 518 50 „ Orange red.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 519 3 *sen* Orange.
„ 520 3 „ Lemon.
„ 521 50 „ Carmine.
„ 522 50 „ Orange red.

6° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 523 50 *sen* Orange red.

7° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 524 50 *sen* Carmine.

8° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 525 50 *sen* Carmine.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 526 50 *sen* Carmine.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 527 50 *sen* Carmine.

11° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 528 50 *sen* Carmine.

12° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 529 50 *sen* Carmine.

The last three perforations are known to have first been issued during February 1888.

October 1879 Issue.

It would seem that quite a number of the 1 *sen* black and 2 *sen* drab of May 1876 issue were used a second time by unscrupulous persons, after the obliteration marks were cleverly removed, for, the *Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkaku-shi* mentions that to prevent this fraudulent use, the colors of the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* stamps were changed on October 11th 1879 by Ordinance No. 44 of the Home Department, into the less fast colors of maroon and grey purple, because the black and drab were of such indelible colouring as to permit the successful operation of restoring these stamps into an apparently unused state. The design is identical with the corresponding values of the May 1876 emission, and the stamps are printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper. The issue ceased on January 1st 1883.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 530 2 *sen* Gray purple.

2° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 531 2 *sen* Gray purple.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 532 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 533 2 „ Gray purple.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 534 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 535 2 „ Gray purple.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 536 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 537 2 „ Gray purple.

6° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 538 2 *sen* Gray purple.

7° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 539 1 *sen* Maroon.

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 540 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 541 2 „ Gray purple.

9° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 542 2 *sen* Gray purple.

10° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 543 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 544 2 „ Gray purple.

11° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 545 2 *sen* Gray purple.

12° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 546 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 547 5 „ Gray purple.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 548 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 549 2 „ Gray purple.

14° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 550 2 *sen* Gray purple.

15° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 551 1 *sen* Maroon.

The 2 *sen* Gray purple has been found with double perforation at one side, and also imperforate at one side.

VARIETIES.

No. 552 2 *sen* Gray purple, double perforation at one side.
„ 553 2 „ Gray purple, unperforated at one side.

Specialists differ in describing the color of the above, the 1 *sen* having been called "violet brown," "red brown" and even "brown," whilst the 2 *sen* has occasionally been described as "purple" and "dark violet."

January 1883 Issue.

Consequent upon the assent given by the Japanese Government to the proposal of the International Bureau that all its members adopt uniform colors for postage stamps of corresponding values, a change in colors of the 1 *sen*, 2 *sen* and 5 *sen* stamps became necessary. These now emerged on January 1st 1883 in accordance with ordinance No. 55 of the Agricultural Department, in green, rose and ultramarine respectively; the designs, however, remained the same, and the stamps were printed on ordinary foreign white wove poper, one hundred to the sheet in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each.

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 554 1 *sen* Green.
„ 555 2 „ Rose red.
„ 556 5 *sen* Ultramarine.

2° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m.*

„ 557 1 *sen* Green.
„ 558 5 *sen* Ultramarine.

3° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 559 1 *sen* Green.
„ 560 2 „ Rose red.
„ 561 5 „ Ultramarine.

4° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 562 1 *sen* Green.
„ 563 2 „ Rose red.
„ 564 5 „ Ultramarine.

5° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 565 1 *sen* Green.

6° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 566 1 *sen* Green.
„ 567 5 „ Ultramarine.

7° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 568 1 *sen* Green.

8° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 569 2 *sen* Rose red.

9° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 570 1 *sen* Green.
„ 571 5 „ Ultramarine.

10° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 572 1 *sen* Green.
„ 573 2 „ Rose red.
„ 574 5 „ Ultramarine.

11° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 575 1 *sen* Green.
„ 576 2 „ Rose red.

12° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 577 1 „ Green.
„ 578 5 „ Ultramarine.

13° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 579 1 *sen* Green.
„ 580 2 „ Rose red.
„ 581 2 „ Scarlet.
„ 582 5 „ Ultramarine.

14° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 583 1 *sen* Green.
„ 584 2 „ Rose red.

The last two perforations were first used during February 1888.

February 1888 Issue.

This emission shows only a slight alteration in the color of the 5 *sen* stamp just described, the paper, size, impression, etc. remaining the same.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 585 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 586 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 587 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 588 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

5° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 589 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

March 1888 Issue.

Stamps of the denominations of 25 *sen* and 1 *yen* made their first appearance in accordance with ordinance No. 1 of the Department of Communications on the 10th March 1888, whilst the colors of the 4 *sen*, 8 *sen*, 10 *sen*, 15 *sen*, 20 *sen*, and 50 *sen* underwent a change. The last six stamps are of the same design as the immediately preceding issues of corresponding values. The 25 *sen* represents a circle, within the centre of which appear two crossed branches of paulownias and crysanthemums embracing a *kiku* crest; in the upper section of the circle is the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*), in Japanese characters, and in the lower part "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" in white Roman letters, all on a green ground. In the uppermost part of the stamp *Nijugo sen* appears in antique Japanese characters, whilst the word "SEN" is placed at the extreme bottom of the adhesive with the numerals "25" in large figures at each side, filling the two corners. With the exception of the ring forming the circle, the design is entirely on a colorless ground. The 1 *yen* bears a large embossed *kiku* crest which completely fills the centre of the stamp; this crest is encompassed by a wide circle, in the rim of which inscriptions in the same style as the 25 *sen* appear in white letters; at the bottom of the stamp, the value is shown in red antique Japanese characters as well as in Roman letters in colorless spaces; with this exception, the rest

of the stamp is a white design on carmine ground. An insulator figures prominently at each corner. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper; size of the 25 *sen*, 18½ × 22½ *m/m*, and of the 1 *yen*, 19 × 22½ *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	590	10 *sen*	Brown ocre.
„	591	20 „	Orange.
„	592	50 „	Red brown.
„	593	1 *yen*	Carmine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m*.

„	594	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	595	25 „	Pale green.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	596	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	597	8 „	Blue lilac.
„	598	10 „	Brown ocre.
„	599	15 „	Violet.
„	600	20 „	Orange.
„	601	25 „	Pale green,
„	602	50 „	Red brown.
„	603	1 *yen*	Carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m*.

„	604	25 *sen*	Pale green.

5° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m*.

„	605	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	606	8 „	Blue lilac.
„	607	10 „	Brown ocre.
„	608	15 „	Violet.
„	609	20 „	Orange.
„	610	25 „	Pale green.

No. 611 50 *sen* Red brown.
„ 612 1 *yen* Carmine.

6° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 613 10 *sen* Brown ocre.

7° Perforated 13 × 14 *m/m.*

„ 614 15 *sen* Violet
„ 615 25 „ Pale green.

8° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 616 4 *sen* Yellow brown.
„ 617 8 „ Blue lilac.
„ 618 10 „ Brown ocre.
„ 619 15 „ Violet.
„ 620 20 „ Orange.
„ 621 25 „ Pale green.
„ 622 50 „ Red brown.
„ 623 1 *yen* Carmine.

9° Perforated 13½ × 14 *m/m.*

„ 624 10 *sen* Brown ocre.
„ 625 15 „ Violet.
„ 626 25 „ Pale green.
„ 627 50 „ Red brown.

10° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

„ 628 25 *sen* Pale green.

The 20 *sen* stamp has often been chronicled as existing in the "yellow" color, but it never was originally issued in that tint. It should be noted that this orange color on the early printed stamps is very susceptible to atmospheric and actinic influences, exposure of these stamps an hour or two to the rays of the sun often transforming the shade into a lemon yellow.

May 1892 Issue.

After four years of non-activity, the 3 *sen* stamp of June 1879 issue made its reappearance in a new color on May 6th 1892 in accordance with ordinance No. 11 of the Department of Communications. Experience proved that for the payment of postal money order fees, third class mail matter, and acknowledgement of delivery, a 3 *sen* stamp would be very useful, hence its issue. Design, size, and paper, the same as its predecessor.

1° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 629 3 *sen* Lilac rose.

2° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 630 3 *sen* Lilac rose.

March 1894 Issue.

In commemoration of the silver wedding of their Imperial reigning Majesties, it was notified on March 2nd 1894 by Communications Department ordinance No. 3 that two special stamps of the value of 2 and 5 *sen* would be issued on the 9th of that month. They are elaborate specimens ; the centre of the stamps is occupied by a large *Kiku* crest (菊 紋) encircled by a ring, in the rim of which, appear in the upper section the inscription 大 婚 貳 十 五 年 祝 典 (*Dai kon nijugo nen shikuten*) in Japanese archaic characters, and in the lower portion, " IMPERIAL WEDDING 25 ANNIVERSARY ;" the outer edge of the ring is formed of seventy two dots ; at each side there is a fabulous bird, probably intended for a stork. At the top of the stamp 大 日 本 帝 國 郵 便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) in native characters is shown within a scroll ; the value, both in the vernacular and Roman letters, is placed at the bottom together with " IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST." Other parts of the stamps are elaborated with ornamental work. Printed on

ordinary foreign white wove paper, each sheet is composed of fifty stamps in ten horizontal rows of five stamps each. Fourteen million three hundred thousand of the 2 *sen* and Seven hundred thousand of the 5 *sen* were issued. Size 25 × 35¾ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 631 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 632 5 „ Ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 633 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 634 5 „ Ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 635 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 636 5 „ Ultramarine.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 637 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 638 5 „ Ultramarine.

5° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

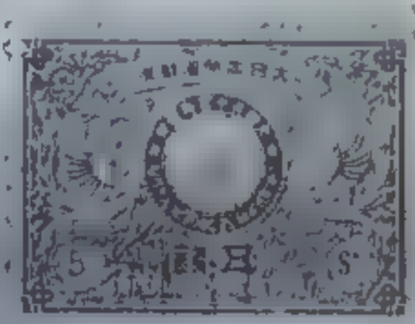
„ 639 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 640 5 „ Ultramarine.

It will be observed that this series has no compound perforations.

August 1896 Issue.

On the 1st of August 1896, for the first time Japan issued its stamps with the effigy of national personages printed thereon. Although only two values were issued, this series consists of four stamps; there are two 2 *sen*, and likewise two 5 *sen*, each pair bearing the effigy of Prince Arisugawa and Prince Kitashirakawa respectively. This set was issued in commemoration of the valour shown and services rendered by these

A No. 60



A No. 61

A No. 62

A No. 63

A No. 64

A No. 65

A No. 66

A No. 67

A No. 68

A No. 69

A No. 70

A No. 71

two princes in Formosa and Manchuria respectively. The two *sen* has the effigy in an oval, within the rim forming the circle is placed the inscription 日本帝國郵便切手 (*Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte*), this is shown in the upper part, "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" appears in the lower portion, whilst the symbol "2 SN." forms the division between the upper and lower semi-circles; there are ornaments at the four corners. The 5 *sen* is a more unpretentious stamp. The portrait is within the usual circle in the centre of the design; in the upper section of the rim of the ring around the effigy appears 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) the wording here being varied from the 2 *sen* stamp; over this inscription, the value, all in Japanese characters, whilst in the lower semi-circle is placed "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST," and beneath that, the symbol "5 SN." Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper, each sheet consists of one hundred stamps, being made up of ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Five millions each of the 2 *sen*, and two millions each of the 5 *sen* were issued. Size 19 × 24 *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	641	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince Arisugawa.
„	642	2 „	„	„ Kitashirakawa.
„	643	5 „	Ultramarine.	„ Arisugawa.
„	644	5 „	„	„ Kitashirakawa.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m*.

„	645	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince Arisugawa.
„	646	2 „	„	„ Kitashirakawa.
„	647	5 „	Ultramarine.	„ Arisugawa.
„	648	5 „	„	„ Kitashirakawa.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	649	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince Arisugawa.
„	650	2 „	„	„ Kitashirakawa.

No. 651 5 *sen* Ultramarine. Prince Arisugawa.
„ 652 5 „ „ „ Kitashirakawa.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 653 2 *sen* Rose red. Prince Arisugawa.
„ 654 2 „ „ „ Kitashirakawa.
„ 655 5 „ Ultramarine. „ Arisugawa.
„ 656 5 „ „ „ Kitashirakawa.

5° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

„ 657 2 *sen* Rose red. Prince Arisugawa.
„ 658 2 „ „ „ Kitashirakawa.
„ 659 5 „ Ultramarine. „ Arisugawa.
„ 660 5 „ „ „ Kitashirakawa.

January 1899 Issue.

By Ordinance No. 30 of the Department of Communications dated 21st December 1898, it was announced that three new stamps of the denomination of 2, 4 and 10 *sen* would make their appearance. They were actually issued on January 1st 1899, and were the first of an entirely new series that was in course of preparation, The 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* are of the same design, and an improvement upon those that had hitherto appeared; the crysanthemum crest shows to advantage in the exact centre of the stamp and is surrounded by a necklace formed of thirty-two dots, around this necklace there is a network collar circumscribed by a ring; in the upper portion of the collar are seven five-point stars, each containing a Japanese seal (篆書) character reading in the following order 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*); in the lower portion the characters 貳錢 (*Ni sen*); the entire ground of the centre within the ring is in the respective color of the stamp, and the design, with the exception of native characters, is colorless; in each corner there are round colored spaces,

the two bottom ones contain the cypher "2" or "4" at the sinister side, and the symbol "SN." at the dexter side, whilst the top spaces have each an ancient *suzu*—a kind of bell,—the left one bearing an almost microscopical character 驛 (*eki*), and the right one, 遞 (*tei*)—*ekitei* i.e. letterpost—; the rest of the stamp is ornamented with fancy work. The 10 *sen* is in general a less effective production; the indispensable crysanthemum crest at the centre is encircled by a colored Greek border, the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) spreads above this, whilst the value 拾錢 (*Ju sen*) lies immediately beneath; what is probably intended to represent button-hole nosegays are placed between the upper and lower characters; the whole of this centre portion is surrounded by a wire cord; from the outer edge of this wire cord, what seemingly represents a finely woven net spreads in every direction; the four corners consist of broad Maltese crosses, the two bottom crosses containing the numerals "10" and symbol "SN." in their usual position, and the two top ones, the aforementioned bell, each with the characters 驛 (*eki*) and 遞 (*tei*) as in the case of the 2 and 4 *sen* above described; the entire design of this stamp is in white excepting the Greek border. Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Size 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	661	2 *sen*	Emerald green.
„	662	4 „	Carmine rose.
„	663	10 „	Deep blue.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	664	2 *sen*	Emerald green.
„	665	4 „	Carmine rose.
„	666	10 „	Deep blue,

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 667 2 *sen* Emerald green.
„ 668 4 „ Carmine rose.
„ 669 10 „ Deep blue.

April 1899 Issue.

On the 18th March 1899 the Department of Communications announced by ordinance No. 6 that three new stamps, viz: 5 *rin*, 1 *sen* and 3 *sen* in value, would be issued, they were, however, first sold over the counters of the post offices on April 1st 1899. The design is in every respect identical with the 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* of January 1899 emission, the only alteration being the characters denoting the value; it follows that the letter "S" in the symbol "Sn," is, in the case of the 5 *rin*, substituted by an "R." Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps as in the preceding issue. Size 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 670 5 *rin* Dark gray.
„ 671 1 *sen* Pale red brown.
„ 672 3 „ Brown violet.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 673 5 *rin* Dark gray.
„ 674 1 *sen* Pale red brown.
„ 675 3 „ Brown violet.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 676 5 *rin* Dark gray.
„ 677 1 *sen* Pale red brown.
„ 678 3 „ Brown violet.

October 1899 Issue.

The remaining values to complete the new series that commenced in January, were issued on October 1st 1899 in accordance with Ordinance No. 44 of the Department of Communications. These are the 5 *sen*, 8 *sen*, 15 *sen*, 20 *sen*, 25 *sen*, 50 *sen* and 1 *yen*. The type of the 5 *sen* stamp is the same as the 2 and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue, and the 8, 15 and 20 *sen* are identical with the 10 *sen* of the same issue. The 25 *sen* and 50 *sen* are alike; the crysanthemum crest, as in all the others, figures conspiciously in the centre and is surrounded by a fancy chain; around this there is a network collar on which the characters 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) are inscribed in the upper portion, and the value also in the vernacular in the lower one; at each corner is placed an octagon, the two bottom ones enclosing the numerals of value in Arabic and the symbol "Sn." whilst the two top octagons contain each a bell on the sides of which the characters 驛遞 (*ekitei*) are placed together in tiny characters, thus differing in this respect from the other stamps of this series; bamboo leaves shoot forth from each side of each octagon, practically meeting each other at the tips, this simple embellishment enhances the neat appearance of the stamps; with the exception of the octagons and their contents, the whole design is in white, the ground only being colored. For the 1 *yen* a special impression is reserved; between the petals of the crysanthemum crest slightly towards the tips, are tiny spots; this crest is in the centre and is surrounded by a necklace of wavy lines; the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) in large characters on a plain colored ground practically circumsbribes this necklace, an ambigious ornament forming the division between the character 大 (*dai*) and 便 (*bin*); an endless line encircles all this, and by passing over itself at the corners, forms four small rings, these contain the characters 圓

(*yen*) and 壹 (*ichi*) and the numeral "1" and symbol "YEN" respectively; the impression is entirely in white and in relief. Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper, excepting the 1 *yen*, which is in embossed printing, all in sheets of one hundred stamps as the preceding issue. Size. 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	679	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow.
„	680	8 „	Pale olive.
„	681	15 „	Purple.
„	682	20 „	Orange.
„	683	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	684	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	685	1 *yen*	Carmine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

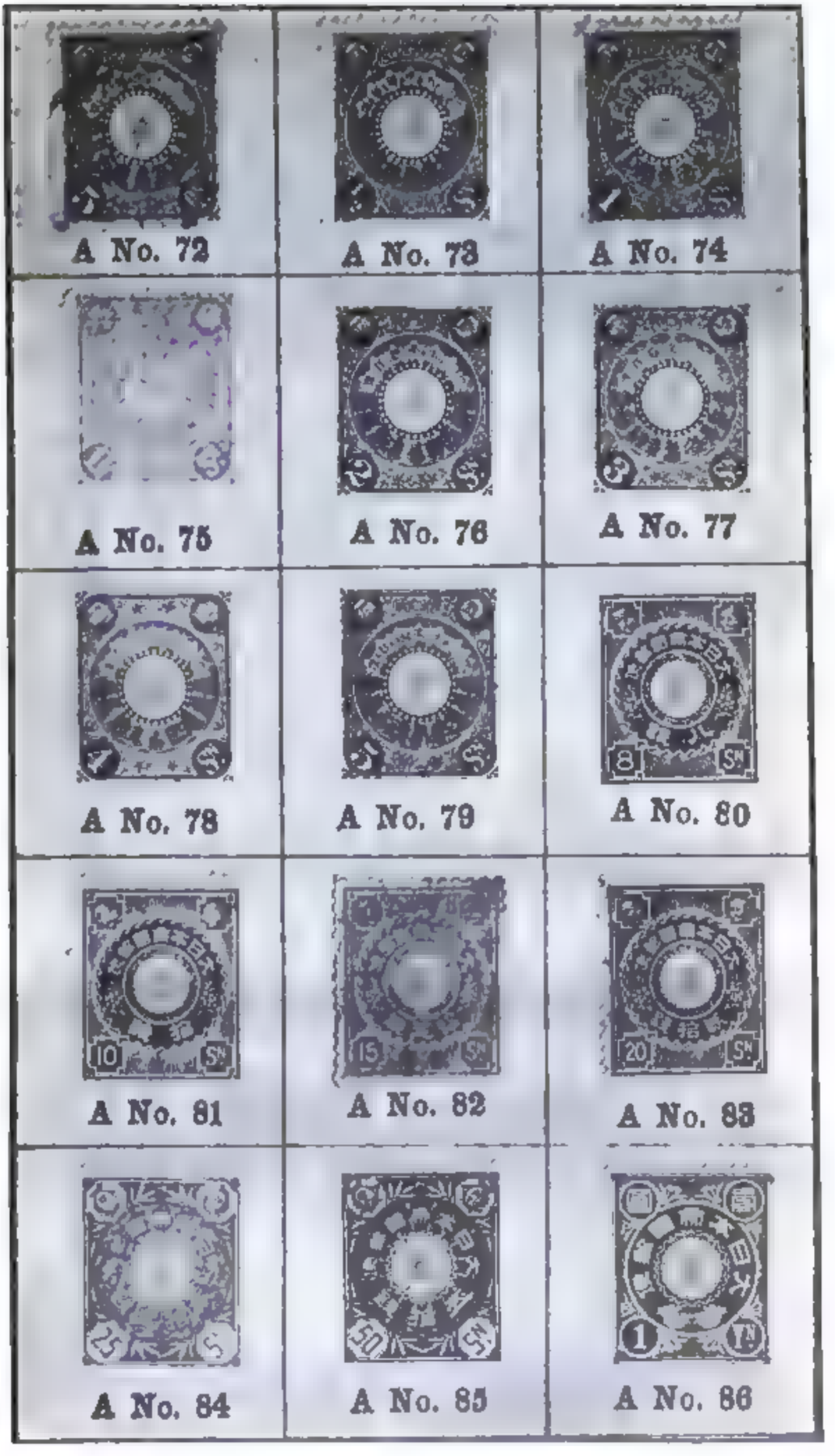
„	686	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow.
„	687	8 „	Pale olive.
„	688	15 „	Purple.
„	689	20 „	Orange.
„	690	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	691	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	692	1 *yen*	Carmine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	693	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow,
„	694	8 „	Pale olive.
„	695	15 „	Purple.
„	696	20 „	Orange.
„	697	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	698	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	699	1 *yen*	Carmine.

January 1900 Issue.

On November 21st 1899 Viscount Yoshikawa, then Minister of Communications, notified that on and after January



A No. 72 | A No. 73 | A No. 74

A No. 75 | A No. 76 | A No. 77

A No. 78 | A No. 79 | A No. 80

A No. 81 | A No. 82 | A No. 83

A No. 84 | A No. 85 | A No. 86

1st 1900, Japanese postage stamps sold at the Japanese Post offices in China and Korea wonld bear the characters 支 那 (China) and 朝 鮮 (Korea) surcharged in red or black, and that such stamps could not be used in Japan. The issues of 1899 were accordingly surcharged as stated, the characters being placed at the bottom of the stamps between the Arabic numerals of value and the symbols "RN." "SN." or "YN." respectively.

SECTION I.—Offices in China, surcharged 支 那

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	700	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.
„	701	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„ „
„	702	2 „	Emerald green.	„ „
„	703	3 „	Brown violet.	Black „
„	704	4 „	Carmine rose.	„ „
„	705	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red „
„	706	8 „	Pale olive.	„ „
„	707	10 „	Deep blue.	Black „
„	708	15 „	Purple.	„ „
„	709	20 „	Orange.	„ „
„	710	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red „
„	711	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black „
„	712	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„ „

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	713	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.
„	714	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„ „
„	715	2 „	Emerald green.	„ „
„	716	3 „	Brown violet.	Black „
„	717	4 „	Carmine rose.	„ „
„	718	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red „
„	719	8 „	Pale olive.	„ „
„	720	10 „	Deep blue.	Black „

No.	721	15 *sen*	Purple.	Black surcharge.	
„	722	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	723	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	724	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	725	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	726	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.	
„	727	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	728	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	729	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	730	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	731	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	732	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	733	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	734	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	735	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	736	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	737	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	738	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

SECTION II.—Offices in Korea, surcharged 朝鮮

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	739	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.	
„	740	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	741	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	742	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	743	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	744	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	745	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	746	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	747	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	748	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	749	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„

No.	750	50 *sen*	Dark red brown.	Black	surcharge.
„	751	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	752	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	753	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	754	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	755	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	756	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	757	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	758	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	759	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	760	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	761	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	762	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	763	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	764	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	765	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	766	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	767	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	768	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	769	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	770	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	771	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	772	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	773	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	774	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	775	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	776	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	777	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

May 1900 Issue.

Late in April 1900 it was officially announced by the

Minister for Communications that a special postage stamp to commemorate the Wedding of the Crown Prince would be issued on May 10th 1900. The stamp was only valid for domestic purposes, and could not be used for letters abroad with the exception of those to China and Korea, where, branches of the Japanese post office exist. The design consists of a large oval ring, in the extreme upper part of its rim is the *kiku* crest supported by two boughs of chrysanthemum; at the extreme bottom are two swallows flying towards each other; within the sinister side of the rim of the large oval is inscribed vertically 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) and in the dexter side 東宮御婚儀祝典 (*Tōgū gokongi shikuten*) that is to say "Imperial Japanese Post" and perhaps most intelligibly rendered as "Celebration of the Wedding of the Crown Prince," respectively; the centre is composed of various articles that figure prominently at Japanese weddings; the two top corners consist of bunches of wistaria flowers and at the two lower ones is placed the value in antique Japanese characters surrounded by wistaria flowers; the absence of all foreign lettering is conspicious. The total quantity issued was thirty millions. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps. Size 24 × 27½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—For domestic postage only.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 778 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 779 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 780 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12¾ *m/m.*

„ 781 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

SECTION II.—For use in China, surcharged 支那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 782 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 783 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 784 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 785 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

SECTION III.—For use in Korea, surcharged 朝鮮 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 786 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 787 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 788 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 789 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

October 1900 Issue.

Due to the increase of fifty per cent that took place in the domestic rates of postage, the necessity to provide a 1½ *sen* stamp for franking private postal cards, etc. was very soon felt; to meet this requirement, it was announced by Communications Department ordinance No. 52 dated 4th September 1900, that a new stamp of the above denomination would

be issued on October 1st following. The design and size are identical with the 2 and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue, and the stamp is also printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal strips of ten stamps each.

SECTION I.—For general use in Japan.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 790 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 791 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 792 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

SECTION II.—Offices in China, surcharged 支 那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 793 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 794 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 795 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

SECTION III.—Offices in Korea, surcharged 朝 鮮 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 796 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 797 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 798 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

March 1901 Issue.

By ordinance No. 17 of Communications Department, a new ½ *sen* stamp made its appearance on March 27th 1901, ostensibly to replace the 5 *rin* then in circulation; no reason is, however, apparent for this reversion to the ancient system. The design and size are in every particular the same as the 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue.. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps like in the preceding issue.

SECTION I.—For general use in Japan

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 799 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 800 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 801 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 802 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

5° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 803 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

SECTION II.—Offices in China, surcharged 支那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 804 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 805 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 806 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

This stamp has not been surcharged for use in Korea.

July 1905 Issue.

A new 3 *sen* stamp was issued on July 1st 1905 by the Department of Communications by ordinance No. 47 dated June 26th 1905 in commemoration of the amalgamation of the Postal and Telegraphic services of Korea with those of Japan. The design represents the characters 參錢 (three *sen*) reposing on a finely woven net spread out to illustrate a chrysanthemum with sixteen petals; this net is encircled by a ring about 2¾ *m/m.* wide within which margin are floral ornaments; at the right side appears the crysanthemum crest, the national emblem of Japan, and at the left a plum flower, the national emblem of Korea; always within the margin of this orb, at the upper and lower portions is a dove with outstretched wings. These are all in white on a carmine red ground. Crowning the ring is a broad colorless scroll containing the characters 日韓通信業務合同紀念 (*Nikkan tsushin gyomu gōdō kinen*) possibly best rendered as "In commemoration of the postal arrangement between Japan and Korea." The stamp was a special issue and not valid for postage on letters to Postal Union countries, being intended for circulation only in Korea, Japan, and where Japanese branch post offices are established in China. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. One million five hundred thousand were issued. Size 18¾ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 807 3 *sen* Carmine red.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

,, 808 3 *sen* Carmine red.

April 1906 Issue.

On the occasion of the Grand Military Review held on the 30th of April 1906 the Department of Communications

issued a set of commemorative stamps consisting of two values, 1½ and 3 *sen*. The design is quite appropriate to the occasion. The centre represents a mounted field piece alongside three rifles supporting each other in the shape of a triangle, whilst a bugle, a pickaxe, a Japanese military banner and other articles of warfare are strewn here and there; conspiciously predominating, above these military weapons is the crysanthemum crest supported by a half-crown of laurels and crysanthemum stems; the centre design is surrounded by a wide ring within which is written in the vernacular an inscription corresponding in English to "Postage stamp in commemoration of the military "review ceremony held by the triumphal army of the cam- "paign of 1904/5," (*Meiji sanjiu shichi hachi nen senyeki rikugun gaisen kwampeishiki kinen yubin kitte.* 明治三十七八年戰役陸軍凱旋觀兵式紀念郵便切手). In the lower part of this ring is the value in native characters. The two top corners outside the ring are occupied by a star, and in the lower corners appears the value in foreign letters, the symbol "Sn." being at the dexter side. In the 1½ *sen* stamp the foreign letters read "1½ Sn." whilst the native characters read "one *sen* five *rin*." Similar to their immediate predecessor, being a special issue, the stamps are not valid for postage on letters to Postal Union countries, but are only available for postage in Korea, Japan, and to Japanese branch post offices established in China. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Size 18½ × 22¾ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 809 1½ *sen* Ultramarine.
„ 810 3 „ Carmine red.

2° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 811 1½ *sen* Ultramarine.
„ 812 3 „ Carmine red.

The nomenclature of Japanese postage stamps issued to date ceases here.

In recent times the perforation appears evenly made, but in most of the early issues it is of rare occurrence that a perfectly perforated stamp can be obtained; they are generally in an execrable state, more especially the impressions on native paper, doubtless due to the fact that these papers are not easily pierced by perforating machines.

Japanese postage stamps have not yet been watermarked.

The control of postage stamps has been confided to various Departments during certain periods. Thus we find that originally the Finance Department had the care of stamps, it was then transferred to the Home Department, and in turn to the Agricultural Department, whose control was, however, of short duration. The Department of Communications ultimately took over the control, and at present efficiently manages all postal affairs.

It is not generally known that the Government has in stock a large quantity of "remainders," doubtless representing a considerable face value. Of what stamps these consist, however, I have not been able to ascertain, aside from the fact that a large portion consists of issues during the seventies. A movement was recently set on foot by a syndicate of European stamp dealers to buy up all these "remainders," but whether these efforts have been crowned with success is not yet apparent.

Frequent mention has been made in these pages of departmental ordinances governing the issue of stamps. This document, a copy of which is circulated to all the large post offices, has a specimen of the newly issued stamp attached to it. In the early issues the adhesive was cancelled by having a black dot stencilled somewhere about its centre, but in the later issues the characters 見本 (*mihon*) corresponding to our word "specimen" was printed over its face. The notification is worded somewhat as follows:—

第三拾貳號

郵便五錢切手左ノ見本ノ通發行候條此旨布告候事

明治九年三月十九日

太政大臣

三條實美

5 Sen
Green Stamp.

a rough translation of which is :

No. 32.

Specimen of the stamp, obliterated.

It is hereby notified that a 5 *sen* Postage Stamp has been issued as per sample attached.

Meiji 9th year (1876) 3rd month 19th day.

SANJO SANEYOSHI,
Prime Minister.

They are not always identical, and the wording is sometimes altered to suit the requirements of the case ; another one reads :—

第五拾九號

郵便切手貳拾錢三拾錢四拾五錢共左ノ見本ノ通
改正候條此旨布告候事

但當分從前ノ切手取交相用不苦事

明治十年八月十八日

太政大臣 三條實美

20 Sen Blue Stamp.

30 Sen Violet Stamp.

45 Sen Carmine Stamp.

roughly translated as :

No. 59.

It is hereby notified that the 20 *sen*, 30 *sen*, and 45 *sen* Postage Stamps have been remodeled as per specimens attached.

The stamps hitherto in use may be concurrently used for the time being.

Meiji 10th year (1877) 8th month 18th day.

SANJO SANEYOSHI,
Prime Minister.

This catalogue would be hardly complete without mention being made where possible, of the estimated present market value of certain stamps. I will however restrict myself to recording those that are valued at or over ¥50 each.

					Unused.	Used.
No.	2	100	*mon*	Dark blue	—	50.00
,,	4	500	,,	Green	?	200.00
,,	52	1	*sen*	Blue green	?	250.00
,,	128	10	,,	Pale yellow green...	100.00	50.00
,,	147	½	,,	Bistre	?	150.00
,,	149	30	,,	Gray	150.00	50 00
,,	153	30	,,	Gray	150.00	50.00
,,	158	10	,,	Pale yellow green...	75.00	—
,,	159	20	,,	Lilac	?	1,500.00
,,	161	½	,,	Dark bistre	—	50.00
,.	163	½	,,	Bistre	50.00	150.00
,,	190	2	,,	Yellow	?	150.00
,,	192	6	,,	Violet brown character ハ	?	100.00
,,	192	6	,,	,, ,, チ...	?	50.00
,,	192	6	,,	,, ,, ヌ...	?	75.00
,,	192	6	,,	,, ,, ル...	?	75.00
,,	193	6	,,	,, ,, ヲ...	50.00	—
,,	193	6	,,	,, ,, ワ...	50.00	—
,,	194	6	,,	,, ,, ヲ...	50.00	—
,,	194	6	,,	,, ,, ワ...	50.00	—
,,	195	6	,,	Violet brown... ...	?	200.00
,,	199	10	,,	Green	?	50.00
,,	200	20	,,	Violet character イ...	150.00	150.00
,,	200	20	,,	Violet ,, ロ...	100.00	100.00
,,	200	20	,,	Violet ,, ハ...	70.00	70.00
,,	203	10	,,	Green ...	?	70.00
,,	204	20	,,	Violet ,, イ...	?	?
,,	204	20	,,	Violet ,, ロ...	?	?
,,	204	20	,,	Violet ,, ハ...	?	?

				Unused.	Used.
No.	207	10 *sen*	Green	?	50.00
„	208	20 „	Violet character 小 ...	?	?
„	208	20 „	Violet „ 四 ...	?	?
„	208	20 „	Violet „ 二 ...	?	?
„	266	15 „	Mauve ...	150.00	?
„	280	10 „	Blue „ 木 ...	50.00	50.00
„	290	10 „	Blue „ 木 ...	50.00	50.00
„	296	10 „	Blue „ 木 ...	50.00	50.00
„	299	1 „	Brown	200.00	?

With very few exceptions, Japanese postage stamps are generally worth more in a clean state than in a used condition.

INTRODUCTORY.

Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro.

No one acquainted with Japan and Japanese thought needs to be told who Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro is. The accomplished and genial Professor of the Tokyo University, in which for some time he also held the honourable position of Dean of the College of Literature, is a very conspicuous personage in the Japanese world of letters and of thought. Unfortunately for the world at large, he has written mainly if not entirely in his own language, so that his influence does not reach beyond the limits of Japan as it ought to do. He is however a prolific writer and a thoughtful one, and I venture to think that every serious student of Japan would do well to study his writings.

Dr. Inouye has, of late years, turned his attention to the exposition of Japanese philosophical systems, both in his capacity as a professor, and as a maker of books. In 1900 he commenced his activity in this direction by the publication of a treatise "On the Philosophy of the Yōmei School in Japan (王陽明) a work which was followed two years later, in 1902, by another treatise, along similar lines, dealing with the "Philosophy of the (so-called) Classical School in Japan." (*Kogaku-ha* 古學派). The first of those two books dealt with the philosophy, mainly Confucian, expounded by the Chinese thinker of the Ming Dynasty, Wang-Yang-Ming, in Japanese pronunciation *Ō-yō-Mei;* the other with the activities of the conservative philosophers of the old school who opposed the newer and innovating tendencies of the so-called Shushi thinkers. The volume now before me represents the Professor's researches into the Shushi tenets against which the "Old School" was a protest. The book, which has been, like its predecessors,

worked up from University lectures, was published at the end of November 1905.

The Shushi School.

Of the three schools of Confucian thought—Cyômei, Kogakuha, and Shushi,—the last-named was the most influential and prominent during the whole of the Tokugawa period. It is a quiet system which makes for solidity rather than show, and the tendency of Shushi disciples is to become gentle, humble, and truthful—these being the moral virtues upon which Shushi lays the most stress. It is a philosophy which is the very reverse of utilitarian, and its teachers claim that the perfecting of the human character is the chief end and aim of their system. It may be called a method of Self Culture, and many of its maxims tally almost verbally with those of British Neo-Kantians, such as Green or Muirhead.

It is, like all Confucian thought, a doctrine of the "golden mean." It contains, therefore, very little in the way of striking theories or novelties of thought, but it has produced a long list of "saintly" sages, who form its principal title to glory. Fujiwara Seikwa, Hayashi Razan, Kinoshita Junan, Andô Seian, Muro Kyusô, Nakamura Tekisai, Kaibara Ekiken, are men whom the whole nation has learned to venerate as examples of practical piety, and it is perhaps not too much to say that the wonderful qualities exhibited by the whole of Japan during the testing experiences of the Russo Japanese war were in a large measure owing to the system of education under the Tokugawas, which was almost entirely in the hands of Shushi thinkers. The study of the Shushi philosophy is therefore a valuable guide to the study of the Japanese people.

A Short Summary of Confucian History in Japan.

Confucianism was introduced into Japan through Korea about the year 284 A. D. Like the religion of Moses it was in its first origins a simple, strictly ethical code, based on a belief in a just, all powerful, all-seeing, and all-judging Heaven. Like the religion of Moses it had become

hardened into a doctrine of dead literalism which had robbed it of all its vigour, so that when it first reached these shores it was a fossil rather than a living organism. It barely took root, it cannot be said to have flourished, for the more active Mahâyâna Buddhism, like the thorns in the parable, "choked the word" and "made it unfruitful." Yet, even in the Kamakura Days it had its adherents, and with the accession of Iyeyasu it acquired a power for which it had long been prepared. The Confucianist Renaissance in Japan was not uninfluenced by China. Confucius had lived and taught in that universal dawn of philosophy, the fifth century before Christ, and from the out-burst of philosophic thought which followed his teachings we may infer that China might have had before her a philosophic period as bright as that of Greece, had not the tyranny of the Emperor She Hwang of Tsin (B.C. 221-210) put an end to the liberty of philosophic thought in China. From this date for over a thousand years Confucianism was a dead formalism, and it was in this form that it was brought over to Japan. Its restoration to activity and vigour dates from the time when Shushi (Chin. Choo He A.D. 1130-1200) set himself up as an interpreter of Confucianism, and in so doing really founded a new philosophy which went by the name of Confucius, but was in fact Shushi with a few additions from the earlier sage. There is a story told of a village barber in England who confuted the village atheist by asking him on what text of the Bible he founded his doctrine that there was no God: what the Bible was in England in the eighteenth century that Confucius was in China in the 10th. Shushi was obliged to set up Confucius before him as his Great Exemplar; but in reality he was much more than a mere annotator. He posed as a simple interpreter: he was in reality the founder of a new school. Shushi was the Apostle of Self Culture, and freeing himself from the ceremonialism and literalism of the Confucian Law he offered perfection to every disciple who would look within and learn to cultivate his own heart.

In Japan the Shushi school came into prominence at once, for its practical excellencies were readily discerned. Almost all the Confucian thought in this country represents the tenets of this neo-Confucianist thinker, who differed very widely on many points from the thinkers of the other schools of Chinese philosophy.

Characteristics of the Shushi.

It is the object of the Shushi School to aim at perfection moral as well as intellectual, and to an equal degree. The followers of Yōmei were inclined to put moral practice before intellectual excellence: the literalists of the Classical School esteemed orthodoxy more highly than moral excellence. In the Shushi a distinct effort was made to balance the two tendencies on an equal poise. And yet, even with the Shushi, the main stress was laid on moral culture. For the use of learning was to aid morals: it was never an end in itself, but always a means to the great end which the educator should always have before himself. It was in this tendency that the Japanese discerned the principal value of the Shushi as an element in education.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SHUSHI PHILOSOPHY IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

The characteristics of the Shushi school will become more distinct if we pass on with Dr. Inouye to consider the lives and teachings of some of the more prominent Shushi Sages.

1. Fujiwara Seikwa. 1561-1619.

A member of a branch family of the noble House of Fujiwara, which for so many years held power in Japan, always to its own advantage and not always to the advantage of the country, Fujiwara Seikwa, born just after Hideyoshi's temporary pacification of the Empire, near the close of the dark ages of Civil Strife, was forced by the unjust spoliation of his father, to take refuge in a Buddhist monastery, the only place in troublous times for quiet souls like his. Like many another famous thinker in Japan he first selected the great monastery of Hieizan near Kyoto; but a few years later, when Hideyoshi was preparing for his ill-starred expedition to Korea, we find him at Nagoya, on terms of friendship with Tokugawa Iyeyasu and beginning the study of Chinese philosophy as well as of Buddhism. A little later he visited Yedo, but returned again to Kyoto, where he lived as before in a Buddhist Temple. But here he came across Shushi's notes to Confucius, and this new interpretation of the Chinese sage so moved his heart and mind that he resolved to break entirely with Buddhism and to devote his whole energies to the new teaching. For this purpose he went into retirement near Kyoto, where he enjoyed the friendship of Iyeyasu, though his mind was too independent

to accept his patronage. Besides the friendship of Iyeyasu he also enjoyed the esteem of the Emperor Go-Kōmyō who described him as a "generous large-minded saint."

Fujiwara's Teachings.

Fujiwara's teachings reminds us at times of the New Testament. St. James tells us of a "Wisdom that is from above," which is "pure," "peaceable," "full of mercy and good fruits." Fujiwara speaks of a quality which he calls "Bright Virtue" (明德), which is derived from Heaven, as a natural endowment for man, and which is the express image of the "way of Heaven." The perfect man is he in whom this Bright Virtue is allowed to have its perfect work. It is not in all men that it can thus be brought to perfection; for when man is born, human concupiscence is born with him, and lust when it has conceived doth bring forth sin, the Bright Virtue is tarnished by the overgrowing concupiscence, and the Way of Heaven is lost. Concupiscence must be killed and the only means to kill the noxious weed is the cultivation of one's self—the Garden of the Soul.

The Essential Quality of Heaven (it is apparently as difficult for the Oriental Mind to grasp the conception of a personal God as it is for the Occidental to understand a Heaven which has all the attributes of personality, and yet is not personal) the Essential Quality of Heaven is Mercy (仁), the chief virtue of man, Charity. Charity, like Mercy, grows by ever-widening circles. It begins at home, with those nearest, it ends by reaching, in the perfect man, to the entire circle of mankind.

But though Mercy is the Essential Quality of Heaven, and Charity the chief Virtue of Man, there is nevertheless, just as St. Paul says, a continual contradiction between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Man: and it is owing to this contradiction that good men are so few. It is the Way of Heaven that man should learn to be loyal, dutiful, and self-sacrificing, and man's task is, by self-culture, to make his conduct square with the Way of Heaven.

Unlike some of the later scholars of the Shushi school Fujiwara tried to harmonize existing religions. He saw points of resemblance between the Shinto religion which insists on purity of mind and love to mankind, and the teachings of Confucius on the same point. He accepted the Buddhist doctrine of *Karma*, though with modifications. His conception of Karma was the Christian idea that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, and shows mercy from father to son in a still more striking manner.

He took a deep interest in commerce and commercial morality. Commerce, he said, is a transaction by which one man is profited by another: where one man gets a profit by inflicting loss on another, there is no true commerce. In every true commercial transaction both parties should share in the profit, for profit is the happy outcome of justice.

In dealing with men of a foreign race, it should be remembered that all men share the gifts of Heaven, irrespective of colour, race, and language—("God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.") Our transactions with foreigners should therefore be conducted on absolutely the same principles as those that actuate us in our dealings with our countrymen.

Heaven is merciful to all men. So should we be. Human passions are like the angry waves, only far more terrible. And of all passions the most terrible are those which drive a man to wine and to women.

"There is no falsehood in Heaven" is a favourite maxim of his which finds expression in many a drama, notably in Hagoromo, a play written about Seikwa's time or a little earlier.

A quiet, independent, thinker, living in retirement near Kyoto and asking no favour from the great, Fujiwara Seikwa was too wide and liberal to be the successful founder of an active school of thought. He was, however, the pioneer of the Shushi principles in Japan, and his life, pious and unostentatious, was the best possible exponent of his teachings.

2. Hayashi Razan. 1583-1672.

Fujiwara Seikwa's activity coincided with the early preachings of the Catholic Missionaries in Japan. He does not however seem to have been antagonistic to the Christian Faith. Rather, acting on his general principle, he seems to have sought to discover common points of belief and practice between the Doctrine he taught and the Faith which the missionaries brought with them. We find a change in this respect when we come to Seikwa's successor, Hayashi Razan (A.D. 1583-1672), the teacher whose influence was constantly behind Iyemitsu, and who laid down in broad outlines the educational system followed throughout the whole of the Tokugawa Period. Like his master, Hayashi began his intellectual life in a Buddhist monastery, but he never took any of the vows of a Buddhist priest. When quite a young man he renounced Buddhism altogether and devoted himself exclusively to the propagation of Shushi doctrines.

Hayashi was only twenty-two years of age when he entered himself as one of Seikwa's disciples. But he had already read a great deal of Chinese philosophy, and had formed his own views touching the Confucian doctrines. He was not prepared therefore to become an out and out follower of Seikwa, highly though he esteemed his character and personality. Indeed he was at the very opposite pole of thought; for whereas Seikwa was gentle towards all forms and creeds, Hayashi was a vigorous assailant of all that was not Shushi. Yōmei and Shaka, Laotze and Christ,—all fell alike under his somewhat bigoted censure.

Hayashi's Teachings.

In much of his teaching he was a strict follower of Shushi. Thus he adopted from his predecessors in the School, the doctrines of *ten mei*, or Providence, of *in-yō*, or the negative and positive principles, of infinity, human nature, etc., etc. In cosmogony, he rejected the dualism of Shushi, and embraced the monism advocated by Yōmei. He rejected Laotze as being opposed to Confucianism, without perceiving that much of Laotze's doctrine is identical

with the teachings of Confucianism. He hated Buddhists as foes of society without apparently considering that within Buddhism itself, in the Shinshu sects, there being was made a vigorous protest against the asceticism was which so repugnant to him. To the European reader he will be mainly interesting as having composed three articles attacking Christianity, which was during his life time in the throes of its death-struggle against the power of the newly-established Shogunal tyranny.

Hayashi Razan's attack on Christianity.

Christianity, with its teachings of a strict monogamy so contrary to the popular conceptions of the period, its claims to universality, and its appeals to a power outside and beyond the limits of the Empire, seemed to him to be a most dangerous system, and one which could only end in the ultimate subversion of the family and society. With Shinto he had no quarrel: indeed he spoke of it as the "Royal Way," between which and Confucianism there could be no antagonism or conflict.

2. Kinoshita Junan. A.D. 1621-1698.

Kinoshita Junan was an indirect follower of Seikwa's, with whom he was in no sense a contemporary. Nor does he seem to have had any personal contact with Hayashi Razan. He was a pedagogue by vocation, and from his home school in Kyoto were turned out quite a number of famous scholars.

He was a man who seemed to realize very fully the reality of the Divine Omnipresence and Omniscience. "Heaven," he was wont to say to his disciples, "is just three feet above a man's head," high enough to keep him humble, and near enough to fill him with reverent awe and circumspectness. One day a scholar asked him to explain what was meant by the saying "God is intelligent, upright and One." "It means" answered Kinoshita, "that He knows what we have in our minds at the very moment our thoughts arise, that He judges with impartiality, that He is always the same," and a cold shudder ran through his audience as they suddenly realized the nearness of the Divine Presence. "The way of

every man is before the eyes of God and he measureth all their acts," said Solomon in his Proverbs. Kinoshita had no special tenets of his own, but was contented with the *rôle* of expounding Shushi, as Shushi expounded Confucius. In his own life he was constantly mindful of the Divine Presence, and even in the privacy of his own room, where he could not be disturbed by visitors, would sit in a dignified and solemn position as one who was always assisting at some great Court Ceremony.

Amenomori Hōshū. 1621-1708.

We next come to Amenomori Hōshū, who, though not a great light, even in the Shushi School, still deserves a passing mention.

Those who have read the life of Sidotti the Italian priest, whose missionary zeal brought him to the forbidden shores of Japan, just a few months before the death of Amenomori, must have been struck with the imposing personality of Arai Hakuseki, the wise statesman whose unhappy lot it was to sit in Judgment on the zealous missionary. While we give due weight to all Arai's words we feel much more powerfully the gravity of his character and person. We feel that he may very well have been a disciple of the Shushi school-teacher Amenomori. "Most men," said Amenomori, "when they undertake to speak about the Way, speak with their lips only and their words reach only to the ears of those that hear them. But what can be done by a teaching that does not touch the heart? If you would accomplish anything, you must *teach by personality*."

True to the Japanese instincts of compromise and identification, Amenomori boldly proclaimed the identity of the three great religions of China. Laotse, Shaka, and Confucius, he maintained, all meant the same thing, though their words and expressions were different. When Buddha spoke of Emptiness, he spoke of the Nature of the Taoists and the Reason of the Confucians. The "three great teachers are the fathers of all fathers"—"they are the revealers of the one way of Heaven under different forms."

"There is a real utility," he taught, "in charity and justice. But men should not be urged to deeds of charity and justice for the sake of the utility that lies behind them. The true Sage bids men do deeds of virtue for virtue's own sake, and never for the sake of the accruing reward.

"The Sage," he said on another occasion, "is the home of pleasure. What that pleasure is every one knows. But it is not every one that knows how to attain to it; for pleasure is not found by those that seek for it. Pleasure comes naturally to the man who is conscious of doing what he ought."

Amenomori's Attitude toward Shinto.

We have already seen that the early Shushi teachers looked with favour upon Shinto. Amenomori evidently did the same. The School which produced Mabuchi and Motoori was already, in Amenomori's time, busily engaged in the revival of those ancient Shinto legends which account so strangely for the origin of the Japanese people, and Amenomori felt the force of that coming revival. He spoke strongly about the divine origin of the Japanese people, and looked upon it as so many have done, before and since, as a nation *sui generis*,—the direct offspring of the gods, with Heaven-descended ancestors.

5. Andō Seian. 1622-1701.

The fifth in the list of Shushi teachers mentioned by Dr. Inouye is Andō Seian, one of those uncomfortable personages to whom life was nothing but a continual poring over books. "Eating" he considered, "is a matter of secondary importance. If a man does not eat, he will die, and that will be the end of him. But if he does not study he will sink to the condition of a brute, and it is better to die than to become a beast."

Once he fell from grace, and abandoned his desk of his own free will. He was very young at the time, and may perhaps be forgiven on that score. In his sixteenth year the Shimabara rebellion broke out, and, weak and delicate though he was, he struggled on to a horse and went forth to help his

feudal lord, the Baron of Yanagawa, to put down the contumacious Christians.

During the rest of his long life (he lived to be eighty) nothing ever again tempted him to take exercise. He spent his days at his desk, reading and teaching, and his sole study was the philosophy of Confucius as expounded by Shushi. In the acquirement of this learning he was not only generous but self-denying. The small allowance of rice which, as a samurai, he received from the lord of Yanagawa he divided with a Chinese philosopher, Shu Shunsui, a political refugee who afterwards found a home in the territories of the Prince of Mito, and from whom he learned a great deal of philosophic wisdom. He seems to have been withal a modest and retiring man, and forbade his son to erect a monument or tomb to his memory, to write his life, or to attempt the publication of his literary essays. The essays have apparently survived in spite of his wishes,--as to his biography, a life spent entirely at a desk cannot have been very full of interesting incidents.

His line of teaching seems to have been one calculated to reconcile the diversities of conflicting schools. Just as among Christian theologians there have been those who believed in the soul's gradual but constant growth in grace, whilst others have advocated the necessity of a sudden and sensible conversion from sin to God, so was it amongst the Confucianist doctors. The Sage Shuki and his followers had taught that progress in moral culture must be slow and imperceptible, whilst Riku Shōzan, possibly under Zen influence, had advocated the theory of a sudden conversion or enlightenment. It is worth remembering that during the early Tokugawa period a new sect of Zen Buddhism, the so-called Ōbaku, was brought from China by political refugees, and that it received much consideration from Confucianist scholars in Japan. It has never been a numerous sect, but its influence has been and is far greater than its numerical importance. Hayashi Razan, and indeed most of

the Shushi philosophers, had taken part in the controversy, started apparently by Ōbaku preachers and had pleaded with considerable warmth that the doctrine of sudden conversion or enlightenment, was beneath the dignity of the Confucianist Faith. Seian's opinions were modest and sensible. He refused to pass any opinion adverse to either side. Both parties, he said, had before them the same object, the attainment of perfection. The controversy was one as to means and not as to end, and the means had to be adapted to the characters, temperaments, and circumstances of men. Progress was sometimes gradual and imperceptible, and sometimes sudden and sensible. He thus sought to bring harmony out of diversity.

Seian's conciliating spirit showed itself in another controversy. Shushi had spoken of two eternal principles—*Ri* (reason, principle, law) and *Ki* (energy or vitality)—the former corresponding with the spirit in man, and the latter with his passions or soul. He had not however expressed himself very clearly, and his followers were not unanimous at to whether their master had been a monist or a dualist—whether be had believed in two eternal and co-equal Powers in the Universe, *Ri* and *Ki*, or whether be had believed in their ultimate identity, or their subordination to some superior though less conspicuous Power behind them. Seian's object was to prove that Shushi had been a monist. *Ri*, he says, is observable in *Ki*. Reason does not exist apart from Energy. Energy in the Universe never acts blindly, but always in accordance with Reason. He concluded therefore that there was behind both Reason and Energy, a third Power which coordinated both, and kept the Universe in harmonious working under its supreme governance. That supreme Being he found in Shushi's writings. It is what Shushi in the Book of Eki calls "*the Infinite*" or "*Infinity*"—the Ruler over all.

The Catholic Christian will at once recognize the similarity of Seian's teaching on this point with his own Faith touching

the nature of God. *Ri* reason, *λόγος*—corresponds to the Second-Person of the Trinity. *Ki*—spirit, *πνεῦμα*—to the Third. Behind both is "*the Infinite*"—the indescribable God Whom we speak of as the "Father." Seian would have spoken of the Supreme Being as *It*: the Christian speaks of God as *He*. *It* and *He* mark the difference between Seian's conception of God and the Christian Faith.

With regard to Seian's moral teachings Professor Inouye gives us a few of his moral sayings which are of interest. "Never seek to be famous." "If a man knows himself he will never be disturbed by the evil words and malicious sayings of others." "What man cannot do, Heaven* can." "Do what you ought to do with all your might, and leave Heaven to do the rest." "Falsehood should be hated above all other evils." "Always be true to yourself."

6. Muro Kyūsō. 1658-1734.

Amongst the disciples of Kinoshita Junan, who was all his life a pedagogue, may be reckoned *Muro Kyūsō*, whom Dr. Inouye places next in the Shushi Succession of teachers. But little is known of his life, and that little may be gathered from a rule of life which he adopted when he was 24 years old and from which he never departed. Indeed, his rule of life may be looked upon in the light of a religious vow, for it was made in the form of an Act of Devotion to the spirit of Kwan kō (the posthumous name of Sugawara Michizane, the first, and in some ways the greatest, of Japanese Confucianists.) His rule was as follows:

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* The use of the word *Heaven* in Chinese and Japanese books is often taken as implying a disbelief in the Personality of God. This is not necessarily the case. We know the Oriental dislike of speaking of the Personal Ruler of the Country except by some impersonal periphrasis, such as the Sublime Porte, the Mikado etc. The same feeling, transferred to God, would prompt the use of the impersonal periphrasis instead of the actual name, and though in some cases there is an intentional thought of Impersonality in the periphrasis, in many cases it is merely a reverential manner of speaking about a Deity who is after all only dimly known.

1.—To rise every morning about six, and to retire about midnight, unless prevented by sickness, or guests.

2.—To dress himself in the morning before his desk, and when once seated there never to move again except for necessary business.

3.—When vain thoughts came to his mind whilst sitting at his desk to check them instantaneously and in a loud voice, and to punish himself severely for every such lapse from his rigid life.

4.—Never to speak an idle or unnecessary word, not even to servants.

5.—To eat enough to satisfy the pangs of hunger, never to excess, and never at improper times.

6.—To check all sensual thoughts and sexual desires, promptly and unsparingly.

7.—Never to read hurriedly or desultorily, but always deliberately and with understanding.

8.—To be strict in the discharge of all duties, and to allow no thought of gain or fame to disturb the mind in the pursuit of knowledge.

It is evident that a life strictly lived according to this rule can afford no material for the biographer. Muro Kyūsō's importance lies in his written thoughts rather than in his actions, of these Dr. Inouye gives an interesting account of which the following is an imperfect summary.

In his philosophical tenets he was a blind follower of Shushi whose teachings he accepted with an implicit confidence which took no heed of the controversies of his day or the criticisms of his contemporaries. His attitude towards Shushi was one worthy of the Mahometan Caliph who ordered the destruction of the Great Library at Alexandria. "If our country," he said, "were under the rule of one who was a true sage, he would order all books other than Shushi's to be collected and burned so that Shushi alone might be studied and followed."

Muro Kyūsō's ethical thoughts are more worthy of study than his philosophic theories, which are mere echoes of Shushi. Dr. Inouye gives us some specimens which shew that he could sometimes think for himself and that his sayings were worthy of being remembered.

"A virtuous man," he would say, "is always mindful of his inner self. He is like a man that wears an ordinary garment over a vesture of splendid brocade. He seems to the eye to be but a mean person, and yet in spite of all his efforts at concealment the hidden beauty of the brocade will continually peep out from under the shabby over-coat." Dr. Inouye sees in this sentence a resemblance to the words of Christ "there is nothing hid which shall not be made manifest," but the resemblance does not seem very strikingly close, for Our Lord apparently had something quite different in his mind.

Again,

"Wherever the Seat of Self is, there is the substance of all thought. Before any thought arises there is always self (*Cogito ergo Sum*). Be true to Self, and see that it is always kept sacred and undefiled by falsehood, idle, or impure thoughts, and then the whole Universe will receive its order from that Self, yea, the very gods will come under its power.".....

....."The root of evil lies in the innermost recesses of the mind. When you are all by yourself, a thought, faint and unformed, will arise in your mind, and that is the beginning of good or evil. Therefore be always on your guard when you are alone. Evil Thoughts lead to evil deeds; root out evil thoughts from your mind."

Shushi's opponent, Ōyōmei, who advocated the identity of intellect and action, had charged Shushi with teaching that action is subsequent to knowledge. To this charge, Kyūsō replies:

"We are daily learning more and more from daily experience of the principles of every virtue, and thus we make progress step by step. What we do not know to-day and cannot therefore put into practice, we may both know and do to-morrow. The more the intellect takes part in our moral life, the greater is the virtue."

In speaking of charity, Kyūsō's words seem to Dr. Inouye to bear a resemblance to the well-known sentiments of St. Paul.

"Charity is to the mind, what life is to the body. When life ceases the body dies, when charity has ceased the soul is dead. Every action of man is a manifestation of the life that is in him, and the charity that is within us manifests itself naturally when we see our parents and cannot help loving them, when we see our Sovereign and cannot refrain from acts of loyalty and devotion. This natural action of our minds has a normal tendency to grow stronger and stronger unless let and hindered by evil passions. Be true to yourself, and you will constantly and spontaneously make progress in the virtue of charity."

In another passage, speaking of the "Way of the Samurai" (*Bushido*), he has a sentence which is of some importance as well as interest :—

"To the Samurai, righteousness comes always first, as the matter of the greatest importance. Then comes life, and after that money. Always do what is right, even though the doing of it cost you your life."

In speaking of the gods, he said :—

"Everybody knows that a god is upright, but we do not always think of a god as being intelligent. God (and we must remember that Kyūsō possibly had before his mind the Supreme Being whom we spoke of in our notice of Andō Seian)—God knows all things instantaneously without using ears or eyes. Nothing but the genuine truth can move him."

In politics, he was a devoted and ardent eulogizer of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. For the Taikō Hideyoshi he had but a scant measure of praise, for he looked upon him as cruel and vulgar, and far from the appreciation of virtue. He did not attach much importance to the Mikado, nor consider him to have much claim on the loyalty of the people. He was out and out a Shōgun's man, a fact which some modern expounders of Japanese history would do well to bear in mind.

He did not think much of the Buddhists as a powerful factor in regenerating mankind.

"The Buddhists," he says, "seek for purification by withdrawing themselves from the rest of mankind. But whilst withdrawing from their fellow-men they are unable to withdraw from themselves, and consequently fail to attain their object. They place happiness in a Paradise outside of the world: but the true Paradise is amongst men, and why then forsake it to seek another beyond this life? It is merely selfishness to seek for happiness by a withdrawal from the duties of humanity."

One more extract from Kyūsō must suffice. It is on Freedom.

"Freedom makes men inhuman, Man should not be free. A carpenter does his work not freely but according to rules and after a design or pattern. A good character can only be formed by avoiding freedom."

We can find the same thought in Christian theology. "Whose service is perfect freedom"—*quem nosse libertas*—are the words with which we have been taught to come into the presence of God—happy because we serve.

CHAPTER II.

Shushi philosophers not of the School of Fujiwara.

The philosophers whom we have hitherto been considering may all be considered as the intellectual descendants of Fujiwara Seikwa whom we have already spoken of as the Japanese patriarch of the Shushi philosophy: and it is saying a great deal in his praise when history records that within half a century of his death his followers had become so numerous and so influential,—and that too in a time of intellectual unrest such as the seventeenth century was in Japan,—the century which saw the passing away of the old Feudalism with its Buddhist Supremacy, the conflict with and practical extinction of Christianity as a factor in the intellectual life of the nation, the establishment of the Confucianist supremacy with the support of the strong arm of the Tokugawas, and the birth of the Imperialist and Shinto movement which was destined one day to destroy the Shogunate. In the second part of his volume of lectures, Professor Inouye points out, however, that there were other philosophers, not of the intellectual lineage of Fujiwara Seikwa, who were yet disciples of Shushi whom they approached by a road of their own, notably Nakamura Tekisai and Kaibara Ekiken, to whom he devotes much attention.

1. Nakamura Tekisai. 1629-1702.

Like all the philosophers of his age, Nakamura led a life of simplicity and retirement in Kyoto, so that he was in truth what Dr. Inouye calls him—"a Saint hidden in a town." The following anecdotes will, I think, show his character.

He was the son of a merchant, and in process of time became the head, by virtue of inheritance, of a mercantile house. He was not a man of much business shrewdness, and in course of time it was discovered that one of his clerks had been cheating him right and left. The family were, of course, loudly indignant, and clamoured to have the embezzling clerk punished

by the law. But when the matter was mooted, as such things are in Japan, before the family council, Nakamura as head of the house, refused point-blank to entertain the proposition. "To bring the man to trial," he said, "would be to ruin him for life, not only in a worldly sense, but in his character and hopes of amendment, and why should I expose a man to ruin for the sake of a little money?" His determination cost him a good round sum of money, but he stuck to his point and went on carrying the precepts of his philosophy into daily life. His consistency gained him the confidence and admiration of those who knew him, and we may at least express the charitable hope that it was not without effect on the peccant employé. Nakamura certainly carried out in literal simplicity the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.

Another characteristic story is the following. A fire had broken out in the neighbourhood of his house, and as the wind was blowing in his direction it seemed for some time that his house was doomed. According to the neighbourly ways of Japan, all his friends and acquaintance came to help him to save his property, but, whilst they were in the midst of moving the furniture, the wind veered round, and Nakamura's property was saved. Every one congratulated him on his deliverance, but he refused their congratulations. "We must remember," he said, "that the wind which has just saved me from anxiety has brought distress to those who are unfortunately now on the wrong side of the fire. We should feel for them exactly the same sorrow that we felt just now for ourselves."

There is a self complacency about this latter anecdote which jars us as we read it. Nakamura forgot that the friends who had come to his assistance had done so because they felt sympathy for him, and not from any sense of personal danger. It has always seemed that a too ardent devotion to Confucian ethics tends to make a man "a bit of a prig," and this tendency is apt to become intensified when the philosopher is a self-aught man, as was Nakamura, who claimed never to have had

a living teacher, but culled all his wisdom for himself from the pages of Shushi.

We will give a few characteristic extracts from Nakamura's writings.

1.—*On Charity.*

Man, says Nakamura, is born through the operation of the principle of life, which is the Law of Nature. Every man is endowed with this principle when he is born, and this principle, which is love, constitutes the essence of the moral or heart-virtues, operating upon everything with which it comes in contact except where hindered by selfish passions. There is thus but one great principle operating in the Universe. View it as a natural law, and it is called "Life," as a moral virtue, and it is "Love," and the only thing which in any way interferes with its operation is the principle known as "self." To deny or forget "self" is therefore the way to find this good principle operating through the whole system of man. The more it acts the stronger it grows, operating in the end unconsciously and irresistibly just as Nature does. When a man has reached the stage of development at which this takes place, he is called a Sage.

2.—*On Self-examination.*

Shushi has given us three steps in Moral Culture,—Self-Control, Intellectual Acquisition, and Effort. The Control of Self sets the mind at rest, and the mind when left to itself will invariably act according to the laws of nature. We thus obtain a gradual harmonizing of the outward action with the inward thought, and the more attention is paid to outward action the more will the inward self be assisted along the path of moral progress.

Intellectual Acquisition in a Confucianist's mouth means acquiring a knowledge of the principles of virtue. This acquisition is rendered easy by the practice of self control, upon which it has a reacting influence so that the more a man learns of the principles of virtue the more easy it becomes for him to practice self-control.

Effort, again, is most effectual when a man examines himself in the absolute secrecy of his own heart. If at such time, when no third person is by to listen to the voice of conscience, a man finds nothing to be ashamed of, it may be concluded that he has a conscience "void of offence," and this in Confucianist teaching is the highest stage of moral advancement. Let a man examine his conduct stringently, passing every thought, word, and deed, under the ordeal of his own searchlight, and listen whether he hears no whisper of shame in the auditorium of his inmost heart.

3.—*On Life and Death.*

What is a righteous death? It is a sin to seek death unnecessarily. Why? Because the body in which you live is your parent's gift to you, and even to injure it wilfully or through negligence is a sin against the donors. But there will come times when your mind will hover in its judgment between life and death, and at such times it is better to seek death than to covet life. But if a man allow himself to become too familiar with this idea, he will be apt to fall into the error of seeking death prematurely, that is, when sober judgment would not approve of the deed. A man should therefore continually cultivate the practice of a calm mind, for that is the only infallible judge on the question of self-sought death.

4.—*Deity.*

If we consider the sublimity and grandeur of the Universe we cannot resist the impulse to sanctify ourselves in order that we may devote ourselves to the service of the deity which is its soul. But the Universe is but a large edition, vaster and more distant, of our own soul, and enthroned in the soul we find the same deity that we find in the Universe, for it is the prerogative of deity that it shines in every nook and corner of creation. The deity that resides in a man's own heart cannot be deceived, and it is well for man to serve him truly, so that every word, thought, and act, may be correct. It is by the cultivation of

this deity that a man can attain to the dignity of a sage who has no reason to be ashamed of himself.

Professor Inouye's judgment on Nakamura Tekisai is that, whilst all his views fall well within the limits of the Shushi school, he was in no way an idealist, but a practical philosopher, a lover of peace, and a truly saintly man. We will now pass on to the consideration of Kaibara Ekiken, the next on the list of the Shushi succession.

2. Kaibara Ekiken. 1630-1714.

Kaibara Ekiken, "great" as Shushi philosopher, "greatest" as a social philosopher, was the son of a court physician to the Daimyo of Fukuoka in Chikuzen, the head of the famous house of Kuroda. He wrote a great many books, all in the popular style, and in this was entirely at variance with the practice of other Confucianist writers, who never dreamed that their lucubrations could possibly interest any but the most select *côterie* of learned men, and who consequently always wrote either in pure Chinese or in a hard style of classical Japanese. Of Kaibara's daily life Professor Inouye does not give us many details, but there are one or two land-marks of intellectual development which need to be remembered.

As a boy, he was a devout Buddhist and very regular in his attendance at the services and lectures of a Buddhist temple. When about 14 years old, his elder brother told him that Buddhism was an error, and Kaibara, being convinced by his arguments, gave up Buddhism, and became a Confucianist. For 20 years or so, he was a disciple of Riku Shōzan and Ō Yōmei, but at the age of thirty-six he fell in with a book explaining the differences between these teachers and Shushi, and, just as before he had renounced Buddhism, so now he threw over his first Confucianist teachers and became with a whole-hearted devotion a follower of the Shushi philosophy. Fourteen or fifteen years later, when he was over fifty, he began to find that there were some points in Shushi's philosophy with which he could not agree; but he never broke away from his

allegiance to the Chinese Sage and always spoke of him with the utmost deference and humility, in spite of conflicting views on cosmogony and human nature. About the same time that he became a disciple of Shushi he married a young wife of 17 years of age. This lady was afterward known by the *nom de plume* of Token, and became the authoress of the celebrated work on female education known as the *Onna Daigaku* or Great Learning of Woman. The work has by some been attributed to Kaibara himself, but it seems a juster view to say that it was written and published by Token, though not without the sympathy and help of her husband, who from a literary point of view stood to her in a relation not unlike that occupied by G.H. Lewes to George Eliot.

His humility is illustrated by the story of the modest inscription which he wrote for a monument erected to the memory of the famous loyalist Nanko, and there is an anecdote of the patience with which he listened to a dissertation on Confucianism delivered by an ignorant and conceited young man to whom he did not reveal his name until forced to do so by circumstances.

He studied many things; amongst others, music, poetry, and a little medicine. In the first of these sciences, he showed himself a true disciple of Confucius, who reckoned music as one of the six accomplishments necessary for the philosopher. The instruments of his choice were the *biwa* and the flute (*sho*), in poetry he bestowed all his admiration on the short *waka* epigrams, to the exclusion of the Chinese rhymes and metres for which he had the greatest contempt, and his dying poem well illustrates the peaceful character of the life he was about to leave when he composed it.

Koshikata wa
Hito yo bakari no
Kokochi shite,
Yasoji amari no
Yume wo mishi kana.

"My long past life seems but a single night:
For all my eighty years and more have sped
Like one sweet dream of gentle happiness."

His medical studies may have been due to his intention of following his father's profession, and possibly he had some hopes of succeeding to his father's post at the Fukuoka Court. When, as a young man, he came up to Yedo, he shaved his head at Kawasaki after the fashion then prevailing amongst physicians; but after giving in his adhesion to the Shushi philosophy he discarded this fashion, had his hair done in the ordinary style of a layman, and called himself by his proper name of Kyūbei instead of by his affected literary pseudonym of Ekiken.

Kaibara's philosophy. and His views on Confucius Mencius Shushi, and others.

It was Kaibara's opinion that there was none to be compared as a teacher of mankind to "*our* Confucius," whose "way of the golden mean" was absolutely correct and faultless, and who therefore alone deserved the appellation of the "Sage." Mencius was not a *Sage*, but a "*wise man*" (*kensha*). He had not that absolute freedom from bias which distinguished his master above all other men. He could never therefore compete in perfection with Confucius, but to us he is valuable as having lived near to Confucius both in time and in place, and as having been the main channel through which the Confucian tradition has come down to us. Kaibara further thought that after Mencius there was no Confucianist teacher of pre-eminent merit until we come to Shushi and the other great scholars of the Sung Dynasty. These scholars, and especially Shushi, were the true interpreters of Confucius, and deserved therefore to be ranked with Mencius, not as *sages* but as "wise men" (*kensha*)—men to be revered and reverenced, but not to be accepted as infallible, some of their opinions, such as, e.g. Shushi's views on Nature and Cosmogony, being open to doubt.

Of Riku Shōzan and Ō Yōmei he deemed that they were

both of them Zen Buddhists disguised as Confucianists. The former, for instance, stoutly maintained a doctrine not unlike to that of sudden conversion. It was not necessary, he argued, that there should always be a gradual growth in knowledge and intelligence; for the eyes of the intellect are sometimes suddenly opened and the Truth apprehended at one bound. Ō Yōmei also was infected with the same Zen heresy, and his teaching of the essential unity of knowledge and action was likely to lead men astray from the purity of Confucianist principles. Kaibara therefore refused to allow to these two writers an equality with Shushi. He ranked them with the teachers of the Kogakusha or Classical School, as imperfect expounders of the teachings of the Sage. Yet there is nothing harsh in his attitude towards them, and a careful perusal of his work will show that his system does actually comprehend all that is best in all these Confucianist doctors.

b. Kaibara on Cosmogony. Kaibara's intense admiration for Shushi did not prevent him from differing from his master on his views of Cosmogony. Shushi is a dualist, posing two first principles, *ri* and *ki*, from which all things are deduced according to his system. It is true that he gave *taikyoku* (infinity) as the basal principle out of which all things were produced by the interaction of *ri* and *ki*, and has for this reason been sometimes viewed as a monist. But a deeper study of Shushi will show that he identifies *taikyoku* with *ri*, so that he is still practically a dualist. Ō Yōmei, on the other hand, knows nothing of *taikyoku*: he poses but two principles, *ri* and *ki*, and these he affirms to be but different aspects of one and the same thing; and in this practical monism Kaibara agrees with him as against Shushi.

"*Ri* and *Ki*" (he says in a quotation given by Dr. Inouye) "must be one and identical, and when Shushi tries to distinguish them one from the other I fail to follow him. *Ri* cannot exist apart from *ki*, nor *ki* without *ri*. Neither of them is prior to the other, nor are they capable either of being confounded

together or of being separated. The *ri* is not a separate substance, but it is *ri* of the *ki*."

The relation which *ri*, "principle," bears to *ki*, "energy," is thus described:

"Energy is something which is ever moving, ever changing, ever operating, ever productive of life. It always moves, changes, and operates in perfect order, and that which enables it to do so is energy or principle. Energy will, it is true, sometimes operate in a disorderly fashion, but that is not its normal condition. Its normal condition is, and always must be, in accordance with the nature of "principle," and therefore right. You may liken principle to water, which is essentially pure, but contracts defilement by passing through mud or other dirty substances. You may say that principle produces all things, or that energy produces all things, but if you should say that the principle produces the energy you would be wrong. For the energy is only that of the principle, and the two are co-eternal, co-extensive, conjoint, yet distinct."

In a similar strain we find him speaking in language, which is strangely theological, of the so-called "positive" and "negative" principles in the Universe (*yō-in*).

"It is wrong to say that there are two principles in the world, or two energies: for there is but one *ri* and one *ki*, one energy and one principle. When energy goes forth we call it positive (*yō*), when it comes back, we call it negative, (*in*), but whether it go forth or come back it is but one energy. All the heavenly bodies, the four seasons, the gods, spirits (genii) etc., are produced by the one *ki* energizing in these two opposite ways.

Shushi's view would seem to have been much nearer to the Christian conception than that of Kaibara; for Shushi postulates a basal Finity lacking the element of personality, in which *Taikyoku* the Infinite,—immeasurable and incomprehensible,—corresponds to the Person of the Father, *Ri*—"principle,"

λόγος,—to the Son, and *ki*,—Spirit, *πνεῦμα*, "energy," to--that which Christian Theology knows as the Holy Spirit of God. And yet Ekiken can also speak of the Infinite, as witness the following quotations:

"When we go back to the very beginnings of the Universe we come to a time when the two opposing operations, the positive and the negative, were not yet manifest, but there was a chaos which was the seat of all truth. At that remote period there was as yet no sign of the separate operations, such as we find at a later time. This chaos we call Infinity (*taikyoku*)."

Again,

"Before the manifestation of the two operations, we have Infinity, and the manifestion of the positive and negative workings is simply the effect of Infinity in action. What was Infinity (*taikyoku*, chaos) before the separation is called the Positive and Negative at a later period. Infinity and the *In-yo* are therefore one and the Same Thing."

We have seen above that Kaibara practically identified Ri and Ki with Taikyoku, thus teaching a pure Monism. Against this position we may quote from Shushi with Dr. Inouye.

"Taikyoku," he says, "is the principle of the Universe," And again, "Prior to the coming into being of the Cosmos we find Infinity, (*taikyoku*). From *taikyoku* the world has been produced, and without it the World could not have come into existence. Out of *taikyoku* has sprung "energy," the operation by which all things were made that have been made. It is impossible to read these cosmogonical speculations without having conjured up to the mind's eye an allegorized interpretation of the story of the Creation in Genesis.

c. Kaibara on Natural Religion.

Kaibara's views on ethics depend on his conception of the Way of Heaven as taught by Confucius, and it has been claimed for him by some of his admirers that his conception of love as derived

from the Way of Heaven is superior to the description of the same virtue given by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

"Though a man's life comes to him from his parents, it is nevertheless primarily owing to the principle of life which is the Law of Heaven and Earth. All men, therefore, are the offspring of Heaven and Earth, and these are the true parents of us all. Our earthly parents give us care and education, and the mercy of the Earthly Sovereign serves to protect us, but the food we eat, the clothing we wear, and all the other necessaries of our daily life, are gifts bestowed upon us by Heaven and Earth. Thus, the very origin of our life is derived from Heaven and Earth, and our life is supported by the same throughout. Our first duty is therefore towards Heaven and Earth.

The way in which we can shew this duty is the practice of love. As Heaven and Earth love all things, whether endowed with love or not, so should our love be all-embracing. There are many departments, so to speak, of this all-embracing love. When you love your parents, it is called filial piety, when you love your Sovereign, it is loyalty or patriotism—in fine, all the virtues which man can exhibit in his life are but so many manifestations of the one great root-principle known as love. All things, animate or inanimate, are proofs of the love of Heaven and Earth; for they exist only by virtue of that love. Wilfully or needlessly to break or injure anything is to break the law of love. Only, be it observed, that although it is our duty to love all things, there is a certain order to be observed in doing so. Love for parents should come first, then love for men according to their degrees of proximity, and, lastly, love for animals and inanimate objects."

Commenting on this passage, Dr. Inouye points out that love for animals, plants, etc. is a duty not much insisted upon as a rule in ordinary Confucian philosophy. It is true that there are some passages which look that way, but Ekiken was

evidently influenced by the Buddhism in the midst of which he lived, when he made so plain a statement on the subject.*

d. Kaibara on Man's place in Nature.

"Of all things produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the most noble, seeing that he alone possesses the five cardinal virtues (love, justice, the sense of propriety, wisdom and fidelity) which have been inspired into him by the Spirit of Heaven and Earth. The Shokyō speak of man as being the soul of all things (*banbutsu no rei*). Man's soul is the image of the Soul of Heaven and Earth, and is therefore spiritual. That is why man alone can distinguish the five colours, the five sounds, the five odours, and the five tastes, can read books and learn the ways of the ancient sages, and can apprehend the reasons and principles of the objects he sees around him. Whatever exists in the Universe, Man is in a position to discover its reason and nature; because he is himself the Soul of all things."

c. Kaibara on the parallel advance of practice and Knowledge. etc.

Ō Yōmei had maintained the identity of Knowledge and practice. Kaibara traversed that position and maintained that the two though parallel, were not identical. To know is the means which enables a man to act and no action can be undertaken without some knowledge. Every increase in knowledge confers a similarly increased power of action, and every widening of the sphere of action means an enlarging of the sphere of knowledge. Perfect knowledge cannot be attained until action has been perfected. Thus the two travel in parallels, each helping and sustaining the other. In this point Kaibara

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* For instance, in the *Shokyō* or Royal books, prior to Confucius, we find the injunction "not to injure Heavenly things (i.e. *ten-butsu*, "natural objects." And Confucius in one passage tells us that "to cut a tree or to kill an animal at an unseasonable time is contrary to the practice of filial piety." There is likewise a sentence in Mencius which runs thus, "Virtuous men see animals alive and feel sorry to see them die: they hear their voices, and feel sorry to eat their flesh. As a rule, therefore, they prefer to live as far from the kitchen as possible." But kindness to animals and plants enters hardly at all into subsequent Confucianist thought.

differs from Shushi who maintains that knowledge comes first and is completed first, and that action is always posterior.

f. The Indwelling Deity.

Kaibara again recognizes the indwelling of the Deity in the human soul, and argues that when a man deceives himself he is deceiving the spirit that dwells in him. But he does not recognize, as do Shushi and St. Paul, the existence of two indwelling natures, warring against one another in the soul. Man's nature, he affirms, is but one, though it is capable of acting in opposite and contrary ways. In its normal condition (*honsen*) it is good, and does the thing which is right, but it is at times warped or depraved by evil passions and lusts (*kishitsu*), and then acts contrary to itself in a depraved or lustful manner. But the Nature of man is, to Kaibara, not two but one, and the conflict in the soul must not be taken as denoting the existence of a two-fold nature.

g. Kaibara's Views on Politics, Social Institutions etc.

Kaibara lived in an age when Confucianism was triumphant. With the aid of Buddhism it had driven out the foreign element of religion, the Christian, and had after that succeeded in reducing its ally to a very insignificant place in the body politic, so that it ruled practically alone. Kaibara's independent mind saw that the wholesale adoption of Chinese institutions was bad for Japan, and he did not hesitate to speak his opinions. "The moral code," he says, "must be one and the same everywhere and at all times. But laws and institutions which are only means to the end of morality, may vary with country or age. To insist that Japan should order her institutions entirely after Chinese models is like insisting that a man should wear nothing but a linen coat in the midst of winter."

To give emphasis to the views enunciated in the above quotation, he published a book on the "Seven Beauties of Japan," in which he describes the excellencies of the Japanese character and shows how little Japan stands in need of learning anything of this kind from other nations. Let but a succession

of true sages arise in her midst and, Japan,—the one nation with an unbroken dynasty,—might be led on to a golden age of virtue and happiness. Kaibara was thus openly in sympathy with the loyalist scholars, Motoori, Hirata, Mabuchi and others, who laboured so manfully for the restoration of Imperial Rule.

Kaibara's Maxims.

Kaibara has left behind him a great many very noble maxims, of which I cull the following from Professor Inouye's book.

1.—If a man, having been born, never learns, he might as well never have been born. If he learns without understanding, he might as well never have learned. If he understands but does not practise, he might as well not understand. A man, therefore, should learn, and he that learns should learn the Way, and he that knows the Way should practise it. There have been many clever and good people in the world, but not many that have known the Way. It is very important that a man should learn and meditate upon what the Way is.

2.—It is a great privilege to have been born as a man, and they that have that privilege should not idle away their time. Human life is the most precious of all lives, and no man gets a second life to live. Though a man live long or forever, his life will not profit him if he does not know the Way. Therefore, to learn the Way is the most important duty of man.

3.—Man's life cannot exceed one hundred years. What a pity it were to waste those years in idle prodigality!

4.—A man should always be diligent. Youth is the best time to learn, for in youth memory is active. By the time he reaches maturity his parents will need his support, and then will come his time for action. When he comes to be an old man, he will cease from labour and spend his declining years in happy meditation.

5.—All things living die once. If a man have left behind him no memorial of himself, he will fade from the world like a brute beast. A wise and virtuouss man leaves his virtues behind him as a memorial for ages to come; and herein lies the differ-

ence between the sage and the other whose life has been that of an inferior animal.

6 —A virtuous man is prudent and discreet under ordinary circumstances, but vigorous and active in times of emergency. Such critical moments are the real tests of a man's greatness, for if he fail in them he loses all the merit that he had gained by his conduct in ordinary times.

7.—There is an old saying that tells us that a man's real merit is to be tested as the time approaches for him to die. The real strength of virtue is shown when a man keeps his righteousness in his old age. If he be unjust then we may conclude that all his previous virtue has been a real sham. Old age is the real test of virtue.

8.—When a comon man becomes wealthy he is apt to forget the lessons of poverty. We should be frugal in the midst of wealth, nor allow our riches to make us oblivious of the friends of our humbler days, and always should we cultivate mercy. An old man is apt to forget his parents, and the man that has recovered from a severe sickness will cast aside the temperance that led to his recovery. Both are wrong. The true way to practise self-discipline or culture is to walk always in the first steps (i.e. the virtuous efforts of our earlier days before we had attained).

9.—A Sage and a Traitor leave behind them reputations which are totally dissimilar. A man should count the future as forming a part of his own life ; for our life casts its shadow upon posterity, which is able to form a far more correct estimate of our worth than can be formed by our contemporaries.

10.—If success come to a just man it will not affect his justice, It is wrong, however, to accept success at the sacrifice of justice. Let justice prevail, and all success that comes will be good. We should share the profit that accrues to us with others. It has been said that Confucius rarely spoke about profit ; but it cannot be said that he never spoke of it at all.

11.—In a crisis have no fear, and never prefer self to

justice, and never allow ourselves to fail in the courage to do right. It is at critical moments and opportunities of doing justice that man is tested: for these show whether he be virtuous or not.

12.—To be even-tempered and gentle-minded is the true way to advance virtue.

13.—The knowledge acquired by a virtuous man is many-sided: he is like a man on a mountain-top with a broad outlook in all directions. The mean man, on the contrary, is one-sided in his knowledge. He is like the man who has his eye to a tube and can see in one direction only.

14.—A man's true nature is shown by his likes and his dislikes.

15.—The secret of doing good effectively is to make a habit of doing it. He who succeeds in doing good by force of habit does it naturally: it is by the habit of doing wrong that the man acquires his bad character.

This practically concludes Dr. Inouye's appreciation of Kaibara Ekiken, and with him ends the long chapter which he devotes to the consideration of the two great masters of Shushi philosophy, Nakamura and Kaibara, who broke off from the orthodox traditions of the Fujiwara succession and produced systems which, while loyally Shushi-istic, still embraced much that was new and original, and much also that was taken from other systems. We may see in these two thinkers not only the influence of Buddhism, but even traces of the Christian thought which had been formally expelled, but had yet contrived to leave its sting behind it. We now now once more hark back to the time of Fujiwara, and proceed to consider another branch of the Shushi School, the so-called "Southern School," which was originated in Tosa by one of Fujiwara's contemporaries, Tani Jichū.

CHAPTER III.

The Tosa Succession
Tani
Jicha
1598-1280.

Like Fujiwara Shōkwa, with whom however he seems to have had no connection, Tani Jichū began life as a Buddhist priest, and was in his early days a disciple of a Shinshu monk of the name of Tenshitsu. Buddhism does not seem to have had a good effect on him, and the picture we get of him in his youth and early manhood is far from being an attractive one. He had none of that loving gentleness which constitutes the great charm of Kaibara Ekiken. Haughty, arrogant, conceited, he would contradict his teacher in class, and refuse to pay even trivial acts of courtesy to gentlemen whom he met in his daily life. Japanese history tells us of many such men.

After a somewhat stormy period of monastic life, during which his uncompromising incivilities more than once brought him into trouble, not only with the priests within, but also with the samurai and laity without the Temple, he came across the writings of Shushi together with some notes by Minami-mura Baiken, a friend of his teacher's, and the discovery was to him all that the discovery of the Bible in the library of the Augustinian monastery was to Luther. From that moment he shook the dust of Buddhism off his feet, established himself as a Confucianist teacher at Kōchi in Tosa, and took to the practice of medicine as a means of gaining a livelihood. He did not claim to be an original teacher, but was content to reproduce the whole system of the master whom he had elected to follow, and that very strength of spirit which had made him restless and turbulent during the days that he professed belief in a Buddhism which claimed but one half of his heart, now made him a faithful and resolute follower of the Teacher who had given him the highest form of truth with which he had yet become acquainted.

Followers of Jichū.
Ogura Sansei 1604-54.
Nonaka Kenzan 1605-63.

Jichū's teachings were of a practical nature: he had little in common with the gentlemen who, like Ando Seian and others, spent the whole of their days at their study tables and indulged in theories without practical exposition in life. He taught the need of active interest in the affairs of Society, and this practical side of his work brought him many disciples, whose teachings were destined in later years to have much influence on the political and social life of the country at large.

Ogura Sansei was the earliest and eldest of his disciples, to be followed very shortly by Nonaka Kenzan, a man with a spirit as enterprising and daring as that of Sansei was prudent and gentle. The pair of friends both took service under the Lord of Tosa, and were both actively engaged in the Government of the Tosa clan. Like their teacher, they contented themselves with simply and faithfully reproducing the teachings of Shushi, and it is rather as practical statesmen than as contributors to human thought that they deserve to be remembered. The island of Shikoku is a land of mountains and rocks, in which agriculture needs much aid from human ingenuity in order to be successful, and the years during which these two friends participated in the administration of the clan were rendered noteworthy by the many useful public works of drainage, irrigation, and çanalization, that were inaugurated. These reforms were not carried out without considerable opposition from various quarters, but opposition was always successfully surmounted so long as Sansei lived to modify the *fortiter in re* of Kenzan's methods by his own *suaviter in modo*. But after Sansei's early death in 1654. Kenzan became more and more unpopular both with his lord and with his lord's subjects, and at last in 1663 he died by suicide,—it being still a moot point whether his death was owing to his own despondency or to a command from his lord.

The three whose names I have placed in the caption

Nagasawa Senken 1621-1676. Tani Issai 1625-1696. Soda Rinan 1629-1674.

to this paragraph carried the doctrines of the Tosa School beyond the limits of the remote province in which the School originated. Senken and Issai (the latter a son of Tani Jichū) both established themselves, first in Kyōto and afterwards in Yedo, where their many virtues procured for them many disciples. Rinan migrated from Tosa to the province of Tamba, where he entered the service of the Daimyo (Kameyama). He had all the passionate love of boldly speaking which characterized the Tosa school, and on the death of his patron his enemies contrived to have him cast into prison, where he was at length beheaded after a captivity of four years. The Confucianists of Japan have certainly had their martyrs in days of yore. Rinan set no store by learning or knowledge which did not eventuate in action, nor did he care for half measures or timidity in action. A favourite simile of his was the comparison of learning with swimming. We choose a shallow spot, he would say, when we learn to swim, but the value of swimming is that it enables us to strike out boldly into deep water. So we learn wisdom in the shallow places of book lore, but the value of knowledge lies in the fact that it enables us to plunge beyoud our depths into the serious concerns of human life.

Otakasaka Shizan 1666-1713.

The last in the direct succession of the Tosa or Southern School is Ōtakasaka Shizan, a disciple of Tani Issai, whose chief merit as a thinker of the Shushi School seems to have been that in his book *Kyōshōshi* ("The Tall Pine Tree") he systematized the teachings of his predecessors. He was likewise a man much versed in public affairs, for he served under three daimyos, always with integrity, but rarely with acceptance or applause. "Nine times his enemies forced him to resign, on five occasions he was reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty, but his calm resolution never forsook him, and he always came triumphantly out of his difficulties."

The following may be taken as an epitome of his views.

The Way is open to all men,—it is a highway and not a by-path, and is the exclusive possession of no private individual or body of thinkers. It is the Way of Heaven, co eternal and co-extensive with the Universe, and is intended for man to walk in. It is suited for the Mind of Man, and the Mind of Man, if left free to follow its own natural bent, is capable of walking along it without error. But the Mind of Man is not free, for man has fallen from his first estate, and what remains for him now to do is, by careful self-culture and discipline, to get back to the position which he was first intended to occupy, —the position of a Sage. The process of return to original purity may be compared to the burnishing of a tarnished mirror or the purification of muddy water. Providence (*tenmei*) and human nature are one and the same thing, though known by various names. We call it "Love," and then it is the highest virtue of man: we give it the name of *taikyoku* ("the Infinite,") and it is the Way of Heaven. It is variously known as Providence (*mei*), Heaven (*Ten*), God (*Kami*), the Lord of Heaven (*Shōtei* or *Tenshu*), but all these names only denote that mysterious Source of nature, and especially human nature, which is essentially and unalterably good. The task before man is the task of returning to his pristine beauty and virtue, and that can only be done by walking along the Way. The Way is sometimes spoken of as the "Golden Mean," but its true and best designation is "Charity" or "Love," and the Way of Love is as wide as the Universe itself. There is no need to learn that way from books, nor yet to import it from foreign countries or to turn to teachers of another race, It is naturally inherent in the Human Mind, and all that is needed is to set the Mind free from all trammels of Ignorance, Error, and Lust. It will then return spontaneously to its original condition and be a perfect guide to man.

We have spoken of Shizan as the last in the succession in the Tosa School. Yamazaki Anzai was also in the beginn-

Yamazaki Ansai 1618-1682.

ing of his Confucianist career a follower of Tani Jichū, but he cannot be truly counted as among the followers of the Tosa School, because he added certain elements to the Shushi doctrines which changed the whole character of the teaching given.

He is first presented to us as a mischievous boy in Kyōto, who used to tie strings by night across the Gojō Bridge and delight in the overthrow of innocent passengers. He was sent to Hiyei-zan as an acolyte in the hope that religion might produce reform. He proved himself a quick and intelligent pupil, but shocked his superiors by bursting out laughing in the midst of reading the Sutras. "That man Shaka." he said," talked such nonsense!" Disciplined for his levity, he took his revenge by setting fire to his teacher's mosquito-net, and when threatened with expulsion for this prank, he told his teachers that if they dared to expel him, he would set fire to the Temple. The Faculty evidently considered him capable of carrying out the threat, for no expulsion took place. Students in Japan often have a way that is peculiarly their own.

But, though not expelled, an arrangement was made, through a member of the Tosa Daimyo's family, for the young rebel to be transferred to a Temple at Tosa. He cannot have gone to his new home with any respect for the Buddhist teachers who had shown so little appreciation of the needs of his case,—a little stick judiciously applied to a soft part of his body,—and he did not remain long with them. He fell in with Jichū's pupils, Sansei and Kanzan, already mentioned and was by them persuaded to renounce Buddhism and throw in his lot with the Shushi Brotherhood.

As in Jichū's case, Anzai found peace and rest in Confucianism, which inspired him with respect, and the sole trace of his early naughtinesses was a certain loftines of demeanout which enabled him to put people sometimes back to their proper places for the good of their own souls. Thus, when he was in Yedo, in extreme poverty, (for the Confucianist often

had to renounce all worldly ambitions for the Truth's sake), a wealthy and purse-proud daimyo once sent and invited him to come and lecture before him. But Anzai refused. "It is not for the Teacher to go to the disciple," said he. And the Daimyo was fain to come humbly and knock at the philosopher's door. He steadily refused to take service under any lord, and it is said that the Daimyo of Aizu (Hoshina Masayuki) treated him with great reverence.

"What are your chief pleasures?" he once asked him.

"I have three" replied the philosopher "First, the pleasure I take in having been born a man; and secondly, the pleasure that comes of living in a peaceful age."

"And the third?"

"My third pleasure is the pleasure of poverty, with its consequent immunity from flattery and deceit."

Anzai remained faithful to his vow of poverty, and abstaining from direct interference in political life, devoted himself entirely to the work of a pedagogue, lecturing with much fervour and visible emotion, and carrying immense weight with his hearers on account of the singleness of purpose with which he worked.

Anzai's Patriotism.

It says volumes for the character of Shushi's teachings and the personality of his followers that they were able to tame Anzai's vigorous spirit and make him willing to sacrifice everything, even his will, to the new doctrine which he had embraced. He accepted Shushi, as a Catholic does the Christian Faith, implicitly, and, whilst caring but little for mere verbal exegesis, found all his pleasure in expounding the doctrines of his master. But his loyalty to Shushi never led him to forget that he was a Japanese. "What would you do," asked a friend, "if there were a war with China, and Confucius, Mencius, and Shushi were commanders of the Chinese forces? Would you fight against your Teachers?"

"I should," was the reply. "I should fight and take them prisoners, and then they would be indeed mine."

Anzai embraces Shintoism.

Anzai's mind seems to have been a deeply religious one. He experienced in himself that pressing need which has been felt by many thoughtful minds, of resting upon a religious faith felt and approved. In another age, he might have turned to Christianity, but that, in his age and in Japan, was next to impossible. Confucius and Shushi failed to satisly those cravings which their own teachings had called into existence. He had turned from Buddhism in his early days, and his intense patriotism now pointed him to a loyalistic form of faith—the native Shinto. He became, therefore, the Founder of a new sect of Shinto, to which in his later years he devoted much attention. His Shinto was not, however, like that of his contemporaries, Moto-ori and his school, based upon the legends of the Kojiki: it was rather an eclectic system, which took the best in Shinto and strove to give it expression by means of a stately and dignified ritual.

God, he said, is the Mind of the Universe, and Man, whose mind is the dwelling place of God, is the head and summit of Creation, an embodiment, as it were, of God. Between the Impersonal Mind and its embodiment in Man, he placed many spirits, some good, some bad, who were either the allies or the friends of the Divine Mind, absolute or embodied. By keeping oneself calm and free from disturbing thoughts and lusts, the evil spirits could be kept away, and the good spirits called in to assistance—and as an aid to this salvation he laid great stress on prayer with an honest heart.

The Sun and Moon, whose light is universal, he took as the symbols of his purified Shinto, which was mainly a worship of Nature, and the Way along which man should walk in order to please God was that which was from the beginning, and man, born with an innate desire after holiness, naturally tended to walk along that way except when hindered by disturbing influences. The Way had always been known in Japan, where it needed neither foreign nor Japanese books (neither Sutras nor Kojiki) to illustrate or enforce it, it was suited

for high and low alike, and all that walk by its precepts would attain to perfection.

Anzai's devotion to Shintoism has been looked upon as a sign of intellectual weakness, and it is certain that his insistence on religion and religious practices caused him the loss of many disciples during his life time. To those who remained faithful he seems to have imparted an esoteric teaching as well as the more open doctrines which he gave to all. This may be inferred from that Dr. Inouye says about his successors, Asami Keisai, Satō Naokata, Miyake Shōsai, and Tamaki Isai, of whom we are told that they had several points in common, viz. (i) an implicit adherence to their Master's theories, which prevented them from encouraging new developments of doctrine, (ii) an insistence on the paramount importance of practical life and the consequent discouragement of mere literary speculation, and (iii) the use of secret books, communicated only to believers, which contained the main points of their master's teaching.

Influence of Christianity?

Is it possible that in these later Confucianist teachers, and especially in the religious system we have just been describing, there are traces of the Christianity which the policy of the Tokugawas had caused the nation to reject?

When the Catholic Missionaries were at work in Japan they membered their converts by the tens of thousands. After a few years of sharp persecution Christianity had disappeared from the surface of Japanese life, and none was found bold enough openly to confess his belief. Yet we know that in Amakusa and Goto thousands of ignorant fishermen retained the Catholic faith as a secret tradition and that even in Yedo believers remained. Why should not the same process have been repeated among *literati* and *savants* as well as among the fishermen and peasants. We can hardly suppose that the knowledge of Christian doctrines disappeared when the professors of Christianity gave up the open confession of their belief. The seed must have

remained in many minds, and when in process of time, Confucianists and Shinto believers, who had once been united with Buddhists against the foreign intruders, found themselves in a position of antagonism to that religion, they would find in the Christian armoury many weapons of offence and defence which they could use with striking effect against the dominant Buddhists. They would have to use caution in so doing: it would have been dangerous to speak of Christ or to mention the Cross, but there are other doctrines in Christianity besides its central facts, and these might be used without acknowledging the obligation. Both Kaibara and Anzai (to mention but two) show traces of what may be Christian influences, and the traditions of Anzai's School point to the need there was for secrecy.

Anzai and the Restoration.

Dr. Inouye points to Anzai and his followers as having been very largely instrumental in originating the movement which afterwards led to the Restoration of Imperial Power.

Undoubtedly Anzai's appeal to religion, and to loyalty through religion, must have touched the hearts of many to whom Motoori's and Mabuchi's commentaries on the Kojiki would have appealed in vain. Mere philosophy never goes either as far or as deep as a religious creed can. It is quite in accordance with this that we find Anzai's School producing the first "loyalists." Asami Keisai's "Seiken Igen" was very widely read, and had great influence in inspiring scholars with loyalistic tendencies and ideas.

Anzai's influence was felt deeply in Mito, and the Mito School was one of the active centres of the loyalistic movement in the succeeding century. It was also felt among the Court dignitaries at Kyōto. Many of the leaders of the years just before Meiji were followers of Anzai. His prophet at the Court was Takenouchi Shikibu, who counted Higashikuze, Iwakura, and other distinguished personages among his disciples.

Asami Keisai, the strictest of all Anzai's disciples was born

Successors of Anzai. 1. Asami Keisai. 1652-1711.

in Omi and spent all his time in Kyōto. His father, intending him to be a warrior brought him up to poverty: the son embraced poverty, but not the warrior's life, and became a Confucianist Scholar, refusing in spite of his poverty to call any man his master by taking service under him. He was an ardent student, Puritanic in sternness: and excommunicated several of his friends, notably Miyake Kwanzan and Sato Naotaka, for the reason that they, claiming to be Confucianists, had taken service under daimyōs. He found it extremely difficult to accept all Anzai's doctrines, especially the doctrine of "reverence internal, righteousness external" which was the basis of the latter's religionism, and felt so strongly on the subject that he refused to attend his Master's funeral. However, he repented later on and became a thorough-going and convinced disciple.

The "Seigen Igen." to which allusion has already been made, was the most widely read of all his books, and marks an epoch in the development of loyalist principles. His system, as far as it can be said to differ from that of Anzai, may be summarized as follows: What is known as "learning" may be defined as being the art of governing oneself and others, and may be acquired and improved by the practice of reverence, the acquirement of knowledge, and action in accordance with reverence and knowledge. Action without Knowledge is blind, without reverence (or the 'presence of heart'—*Kokoro no sonzuru koto*) neither Knowledge nor action can be real. Knowledge consists of filial piety and the other principles of humanity and must be studied with reverence, and put into practice with diligence. These principles are innate in man, who has the law of Heaven written in his heart, and are the common road of humanity by which all men must walk.

Keizai's doctrine of reverence and righteousness and his recognition of filial piety and loyalty as the bases of all human duty led him to an outspoken condemnation of many things of which the Japan of his day officially approved. Mencius had

justified rebellion against a sovereign as being at times permissible: Keizai was as thorough-going a 'divine right of Kingsman' as any of his English contemporaries. As a consequence, he defended the action of the Forty Seven Rōnin, praised Nankō as the model of heroism, and proclaimed Ashikaga as an arch rebel. It required courage to say such things under the iron rule of the Tokugawas: the popularity of Keizai's book shows that there were many who sat very restlessly under that tyranny.

Disciples of Anzai.
2. Sato Naotaka. 1650-1719.

A native of Bingo, Sato Naotaka was 21 years old before he saw Anzai. It was at Kyōto, and a bookseller had just brought in some new books, when the young student presented himself. Anzai took up one of the volumes and handed it to Satō as a test of his reading. Satō was, however, anything but a fluent reader, and Anzai, growing impatient at his many stumbles, snatched the volume out of his hand, and gave it to another of his disciples, who read it glibly and fluently. "There!" said he, "That's how you should read, young man." But Naotaka was a youth of a ready mind: "I have known a young Buddhist priest," he replied, "who could read all the Sutras with ease, and yet did not understand the doctrine. I believe, Sir, it is the same with Confucianism. It is not by extensive reading, but by deep thought that we learn the way."

The answer procured for Naotaka a ready admission into the select circle of Anzai's disciples, and it was said that he, who was as much a Laughing Philosopher as Keizai was a Weeping One, was one of the few disciples who could bring a smile upon the old man's face. He was not however a very loyal disciple of Anzai, from whom he differed at the end on the interpretation of the vexed formula, "Reverence within and Righteousness with out." Like Keizai, he refused to attend the obsequies of Anzai from whom he had become estranged: unlike Keizai, he never repented of his want of devotion to the

principles of his teacher, but claimed to speak with independent authority.

His philosophical teachings present nothing very remarkable, and it is quite probable that his disagreement with Anzai (as also with Keizai) may have sprung from worldly motives. He interpreted "reverence" and "righteousness" in a different way to what they did, and the practical effect was that in the great controversy of the period, the question of the Forty Seven Ronin, he took the Tokugawa side, and condemned the action of these men as unjust. We have seen that he drew on himself the anger of Keizai by taking service under a Daimyo, and thus forfeiting the independence of his mind. He must have further vexed that self confident spirit by many of the views which he propounded. He attacked the system of adoption, and thereby cut at the very root of Japanese family life, and even of Imperialism. He even dared to decry the puppet Emperors at Kyōto, whose claims to an unbroken line of descent from the gods he declared to be against reason and absurd. He would not have ventured to make so bold a statement if he had not been assured of protection, both from the *daimyo* whose servant he had become, and from the Shogunate itself, whose action in the Ronin affair had been so hostile to the Court at Kyōto. The controversy which raged over this incident may be said not to have been closed until His present Majesty, on his way to take possession of His new Capital in the East, alighted at Takanawa to honour the tombs of the faithful band whom half Japan had looked upon for more than a century as victims, in truth, of their faithfulness to the feudal lord, but even more as martyrs in the sacred cause of Japanese Imperialism.

Disciples of Anzai. 3. Miyake Shosai. 1662-1741.

Miyake Shosai is in many respects a very interesting personage. A disciple of Anzai, he became in due course a retainer of the House of Abe, which he served with faithfulness and integrity for a period of ten years. But his faithfulness brought him many

enemies, and on the death of his old lord he was traduced to his successor and cast into prison, where he remained for three years. During his imprisonment he made favour with his gaolers to get a cold bath every morning, and after every meal walked round his narrow cell several hundreds of times. The exercise seemed unnecessary for a man in almost momentary expectation of a summons to execution, and the gaolers asked him sneeringly why he did it. "I do not expect a reprieve, much less a pardon," was the reply, "but I want to be able to walk with a firm step to the place of execution."

In prison he found many ways of passing his time with profit and pleasure. He made friends with sparrows and rats, and, with the aid of a nail, and blood drawn from his own veins, wrote a book which contained many of his philosophic thoughts. The work is still extant, and is known as "Shosai's Bloody Book."

We find in Shosai's idea a kind of Trinity—*taikyoku*, *ri*, and *ki*, which we may perhaps translate as "the Infinite," "the Logos," and "Energy" or "Spirit."

Taikyoku is the primal law of Nature, by virtue of which all things are kept in their proper places, and made to work in order and harmony. It has almost the force of the "predestination" of Calvinism.

Ri or the "Logos" is the instrument with which the decrees of Taikyoku are put into operation *Ri* is therefore the direct shaper of the destinies and fortunes of man. It never changes, but is nevertheless no blind force, being, as its name implies, essentially reasonable.

Ki, "energy," or the "giver of life," changes according to the objects with which it comes into contact. It is always reasonable and orderly, for it proceeds from *ri* and is, as it were, subordinate to it.

With *Taikyoku*, which in Shosai's system corresponds to the neuter impersonal Brahma of the Hindoos, man has not much concern. He is mainly under the direction and

power of *ri*, which is also personified as the Spirit of Nature, manifesting himself in Heaven and earth, and even apparently spoken of as *ten-jin* the God of Heaven, a pure spirit free from all passions and evil. By the sending forth of *ki* man is created and born: when the predestined hour arrives the, *ki* is withdrawn, and man dies. But death is confined to the material parts of man, for when man is born through the operation of *ki*, his body becomes the receptacle or dwelling-place of a soul which is nothing but an emanation of *ri* and in some ways identical with it. Inasmuch, then, as the soul or *ri* in man is identical with the *Ri* of Nature, man's soul is eternal and immortal. It is also capable of omniscience: for omniscience is a part of the attributes of Heaven, and it is only owing to the limitations of material existence and the evils attendant on it that man's soul fails to comprehend and know all the Past and all Futurity.

In speaking of the God of Heaven, to whom, as we have seen, he ascribes a modified personality, he says: "The Heavenly God is spiritual: he is a Great Man, too great to seem to have any plan or design, such as we small persons have. All that man has, He has—only in Infinite Measure." The words seem to be almost an echo of Swedenborg's description of God as the *Magnus Homo*.

The *ri* in man operates as a conscience, and is, under ordinary circumstances, a sufficient guide for human action. But, in opposition to the prevalent teachings of the Ō Yōmei School, he taught that conscience was fallible. It is influenced both in action and receptivity by passions, desires, temper, etc., and is consequently liable to errors in judgment, which may lead to mistakes in action. Neither is the natural intellect with which a man is born a sufficient guide, as Ō Yōmei maintains. Knowledge must grow by gradual steps and painful acquisition, and it is only by a diligent use of all means of instruction that the Great Enlightenment can be obtained which is a perfectly trustworthy guide to human knowledge.

It would seem that Shosai was not entirely ignorant of Western learning, which he may have got from the traditions of the Catholic teachings which were still floating about in the country, or else from the occasional books on philosophic subjects which must from time to time have been smuggled in through Nagasaki. In speaking of Japanese patriotism, he says that it bears to the patriotism of other nations the same relation that the institution of marriage in western countries bears to the same institution in other parts of the world. Japanese Patriotism is specially excellent, and so are western laws of Marriage; but both are exaggerated. It has always required considerable courage for a Japanese to say, in Japan, that Japanese patriotism can be exaggerated. But the courage of their convictions was a thing in which the disciples of Anzai were not, as a rule, lacking.

Disciples of Anzai: 4, Tani Shinzan. 1663-1718.

With Tani Shinzan, an ancestor of the General Tani who figured so conspicuously in the events of the Restoration, the Tosa School returned to Tosa, to which place Tani repaired after having finished his studies under Anzai in Kyoto. His life was uneventful, and his philosophic teachings present no salient points of divergence from those of his teachers. The following extracts will suffice to give an idea of his writings.

"The sense of decorum is the law of mankind: without it man would be a beast."—"Heaven is the place where form ceases. Man's mind communicates with Heaven: hence the proverb 'nothing is clearer than a secret'. (i. e. Nothing is secret to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do)."—"If a man is skilful in the use of his reason (*ri*) he can easily form a judgment on a doubtful case"—"The habit of reverence, and simplicity in action are, the best rules of life"—"You can judge the state of a man's heart by his way of speaking"—"No great mundane disturbance can disturb me, but the smallest evil in myself is enough to throw me off my balance. Nor would the possession of the whole world avail to restore

me so long as that evil remained unamended"—"The mind of man is good by nature, and therefore the slightest evil will disturb it so as irrevocably to destroy its original goodness"—"Your mind should be as the azure sky, your action like treading upon thin ice."—"A look, a word, may suffice to ruin the mind for ever . you should therefore be constantly on your guard."—"In attacking your passions, act on the offensive, as a small army would when confronted by an enemy. To await an attack is to be defeated."—. "If you cannot control your passions the time will come when you will try to deceive Heaven."—"The essential goodness of man's nature is easily proved by the fact that we all feel happy when we have done a good deed, and unhappy when we have done the reverse."—"Not to cultivate virtue is to be uncharitable: not to learn is to be unintellectual: not to do what is just is to be lacking in courage: not to reform oneself is to be wanting in faithfulness."—. "All growth in Nature is the manifestation of *ki* (τὸ ζωοποιοῦν)."—"When a man undertakes to do anything, blindly, without his mind being in it (*kokoro koko ni aragu*), he will forfeit Heaven. And to forfeit Heaven means ruin." (i. e. to act blindly, without understanding the reason of what we do, shows that we have no fear of Heaven.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHUSHI SCHOOL IN AND AFTER THE KWANSEI ERA, (1789-1799.)

Temporary Decline of the Shushi School.

The reader will have gathered, from what has been said in preceding chapters, that any thing like a slavish following of Shushi's doctrine never existed among the Shushi philosophers of Japan. However loud might be the protestations of literal faithfulness to the doctrines of the great Chinese expounder of Confucius,

every one of the Japanese philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries practically interpreted him in his own way. No one acquainted with Japanese ways of thought will be surprised at this.

The reader will also have gathered from the account of Tani Shinzan, with whom the last chapter closed, that the school had degenerated from living thought to the enunciation of moral platitudes, which could scarcely be expected to produce a really powerful succession of thinkers, or even to attract the best minds in Japan to the study of the school, or the profession of its principles.

It must also be borne in mind that the period following the Genroku Age (1688-1703) was one of decadence and effeminacy. The reigning Shōguns were men of superstition and bigotry, blind votaries of a degraded Buddhism, and according to puppies and kittens that care which they failed to give to their fellow-men. Thoughtful Japan did not sit quietly under this effeminate rule, and Confucianist Scholars, disgusted with the petty tyrannies of the authorities, turned from the Shushi School, which had always been more or less officially connected with the Tokugawa authorities, to other schools which claimed for themselves a larger measure of intellectual freedom. The consequence was that the Shushi Schools declined in numbers and in influence, whilst opposing systems, such as that of *Ogiu Sōrai* attracted all the best thought and intellect.

"Prohibition of Heresies." 1790.

This state of things was highly displeasing to the Government. Ever since the days when Hayashi Razan (1583-1672) stood behind the Shogun Iyemitsu and directed the educational policy of the Shogunate, the Government in Yedo had treated the Shushi School of Confucianism as the school upon which the official programme of education was based, and the decline of that School was a testimony to Governmental weakness, for it never dawned upon the authorities that the influence of Government

could co exist with anything but the most rigid uniformity of life and thought. It was therefore resolved to bolster up the Shushi School by a Government Edict in its favour, and thus, in 1790, Hayashi Daigaku no Kami, Minister of Education in Yedo, gave to the world, his celebrated "Prohibition of Heresies."

In this prohibition, the term "heresy" denoted every sort of doctrine, Confucianist or otherwise, which did not square with the doctrines of Shushi as they had been professed by all successive Shoguns since the Keichō era (1596-1614), and all educational authorities in the various provinces and clans were charged with the duty of seeing that these doctrines and none other were professed by teachers and scholars in all schools. The Government would itself see that the decree was carried out in the Shoheikō or Seidō in Yedo, and two Confucianist doctors, Shibano Ritsuzan and Okada Seisuke, were appointed to carry out the necessary reforms in that institution.

It is needless to say that the "Prohibition of Heresies" seemed to the intellect of Japan to savour of theological persecution. It was reactionary, for it did not recognize the developments in the Shushi doctrine which had taken place since the days of Hayashi Razan, but forced upon the nation the Shushi system of the days when Shushi and Buddhism, in temporary alliance, had crushed Christianity, and placed the Tokugawa Dynasty firmly on the sub-throne of the Shogunate. During the century that had elapsed since the final establishment of the Shogunate, nearly every leader of the Shushi School had been a religious rebel who had left Buddhism from a desire for something better. To try therefore to return to the Shushi teachings of the Hayashi Razan days was to ignore if not to condemn the labours of all subsequent Shushi leaders, of Kyusō, Kaibara, and all the Tosa sages;—the decree failed to conciliate even the Shushi teachers themselves, and we may therefore confidently reckon it to have been one of the nails in the coffin of the Shogunate.

The Three Kwansei Doctors.

At the time when the Tokugawa Government issued its unfortunate decree, the most prominent Shushi teachers were Shibano Ritsuzan, Okada Seisuke, and Bitō Nishū. We have already made the acquaintance of the first two of these teachers. They were the men selected by the Government to carry out the "Prohibition of Heresies,"—a fact which stamped them as that most worthless class of thinkers, "safe men." Their influence was not great among their contemporaries, nor do we find that any thinkers of note at any time came out from the school of which they were put in charge. The third, Bitō Nishū, 1745-1813, was a man of more weight. He was a native of Iyo, came to Osaka in 1771, and was a pupil of Katayama Hokkai, a philosopher of the Kogakuha, or "Classical School" of Confucianists, who referred him to the writings of Ogiu Sōrai.

In his later days, Nishū referred to his experiences at that time: "Sorai," he said, "insists on our going back to the ancient philosophy, and so when I first read his books I thought that I was really learning something about the ancient sages. Later, after my arrival in Osaka, I read another of Sōrai's books, *Kwan-en Zui-hitsu*, the contradictions in which made me feel some doubts as to Sōrai's position. I wrote to Katayama Hokkai on the subject, asking him for his advice, and was told that I should find the explanations I wanted if I turned to Mencius. Accordingly, I devoted several months to a careful perusal of Mencius, and at the end came to the conclusion that what Sōrai calls 'ancient' was not ancient at all."

At this juncture he fell in with Rai Shunsui, the famous loyalist writer, who persuaded him to read the works of Shushi as being likely to furnish him with a solution to his doubts. He did so, and was from the first attracted by him; a year or two later the study of Muro Kyūsō's "Sundai Zatsuwa" made him a devoted disciple of the Chinese philosopher. He was thus a Shushi-ite by conversion and conviction and, as such attracted to himself a goodly number of disciples. Shibano

and Okada showed their wisdom when, in later days, they associated him with themselves, as a professor in the Shōheikō College.

Summary of Bitō Nishū's doctrines.

Nishū's doctrines were in every respect those of Shushi, for whom he had the profoundest veneration, considering him as being by far the greatest among the interpreters of Confucius, just as he considered Confucius to be the greatest of earthly sages. Like all Confucianists, therefore, he spoke much of *Ten*, *Ri*, and *Ki*.

"The term *Heaven*," he said, "comprehends a great deal. Its "reason," or *logos* (*Ri*) is also called *Taikyoku*, while its Energy (*ki*) is divided into positive and negative (*in* and *yō*). Its ruler is called the Lord of Heaven (*tei-shū*), its method or dispensation (*fuyō*) is known as Providence (*mei*), and its Ministers are spirits (*kishin*). Analyze it, and its parts can almost be enumerated, but the whole has but one name—Heaven.....In man, Infinity (*taikyoku*) is the Nature, mind (*Ri*) is the Ruler, Providence (*Mei*) the Heart; *Ki*—Energy, positive and negative,—is his life, whilst the Soul is to the individual man what the *Kishin* are to the Universe at large. The five organs of sense and action are the instruments by which Nature, Mind, Heart, Life, Soul, are enabled to manifest themselves in operation.....Cold and heat, wind and rain, are *Ki*, when we ask *why* it is cold or hot, windy or rainy, the answer is *Ri*, and in the operations of nature, which are always reasonable, we can always see the *Ri*. Joy, anger, love, hatred, are *Ki*, when we ask why a man is joyful or angry, full of love or full of hatred, the answer is *Ri*, and when joy, anger, etc, are in accordance with reason we can see the *Ri* in them. This *Ri* is the natural reason which exists in and for everything, every gesture of the hands or legs, for instance, should be according to this natural reason. By studying human conduct we can learn to do everything according to reason."

Again: "the relation 'father and son' is the product of *Ki*,

but 'a father's love' or 'a son's devotion to his parent' are the workings of *Ri*. The same may be said of the relations between sovereign and subject, which are *Ki*, whilst loyalty and clemency are the workings of *Ri*. *Ki* is used for tangible things and things capable of measure or dimension, the workings of *Ri* are of a less formal kind. Matter is *Ki*, its underlying reason is *Ri*. Shushi never says that *Ki* and *Ri* are distinct. The *Ri* is always the *Ri* of the *Ki*."

As the associate of the men who had been especially chosen by the Government to combat the philosophic heresies of the time, it was evidently Nishū's duty to protest most vigorously against all departures from Shushi standards. There are many such protests, not only against the views of men like Ōyōmei, Sōrai and Jinsai, but also against eclectics who were already then busily trying to reconstruct a working system of philosophy suited for times which were then beginning to show symptoms of impending change.

The following rules drawn up for his students will show something of the workings of his mind.

1.—The mind should be devoted to one thing at a time, and never be allowed to waste its strength on the undertaking of several tasks. (Readers of the Life of the late Archbishop Temple will remember how he kept himself free from the distractions of Oxford in the height of the Tractarian controversies by a deliberate and stubborn devotion to the requirements of the Examinations in Schools. The principle here enunciated may account for the peculiar narrowness of intellectual horizon displayed by Japanese students when they devote themselves to one thing only).

2.—Conduct should be regulated by a careful choice between alternative paths, and this choice should be made with impartiality.

3.—Man's behaviour should always be reverent and modest, —never haughty.

4.—Speech should be simple and clear, never hasty, and never untruthful.

5.—Care should be taken to observe right and wrong in all matters.

6.—When first brought into contact with any new plan, project, or action, first ascertain whether it is just or unjust.

7.—Never agree with people merely from politeness when you are not convinced of the truth of what they say.

8.—Use especial caution when you are alone. (i. e. either alone in your opinions, or alone in the sense of being by yourself).

Nishū seems to have had a very modest appreciation of his own achievements. He describes himself in a poem, as a grey-headed student who, having devoted himself all his life to his books, is yet far from having reached to any substantial attainments in knowledge. In the next line he takes another metaphor and speaks of himself as the liquid mud in a marsh, which boils and bubbles, under the heat of the summer sun, and yet remains muddy and confused.

" Hakuhatsu no shosei giryō nashi :
Mansō no kōjitsu yōte doro no gotoshi."

Sato Issai. 1772-1850. This well-known philosopher, who, whatever his private opinions may have been, belonged at least officially to the Shushi School, came of an old Confucianist stock. His great grandfather, Hiroyoshi, had been first teacher of philosophy, and afterwards *Karo* under the Daimyo of Iwamura in Mino, and both his son and grandson, the latter being Issai's father, followed in the old man's steps. Issai's father, Nobuyoshi, held the office of Karo for over thirty years, thus gaining a wide experience of statesmanship on a small scale, for the Iwamura clan was not a large one. Nobuyoshi, who married a lady of the Makida family, had two daughters and two sons, Issai being the youngest. The eldest daughter was married to a man named Kosuge Jisuke, who was adopted into

the family of Nobuyoshi, and Kosuge, having no children of his own, adopted Issai as his son. Nobuyoshi was about 45 years of age when Issai was born, and between his real father and his adopted parent, the lad's education was well cared for. He became early a proficient in writing, archery, horsemanship, and fencing, studied Hōjō on military tactics, and Ogasawa on etiquette, so that by his twelfth year he had all the manners of a grown-up man and was fully equipped as a samurai both in body and mind. He became early ambitious to do great things, and fully understood that it was Confucianism that would best help him to climb to the top of the tree.

At nineteen he became a chamberlain at the Daimyo's court, and commenced a great friendship with Hayashi Jussai, the Baron's third son, but adopted into the Hayashi clan. The two young men studied Confucianism together, and imbibed from their teachers, Inouye Shimei and Takami Seiko, many of the heretical opinions of the Ōyōmei or Sorai school. Issai, however, was not entirely led away by his teachers, and his first work, entitled *Kōkyō*, or the Doctrine of Filial Piety, was intended to combat some of the false views of that school. Another intimate friend of his was Sugimoto Chuen, a physician,—a restless spirit who did much to unsettle Issai's mind,—and the two young men got into mischief which resulted in Issai's dismissal from his post as chamberlain, and his retirement from the clan in 1792. He was about to enjoy the freedom of a poor scholar's life.

My feet I wash in the brook," he sang, "my eyes I lift to the hills, for the stream and the mountain alone are calm and pure. I have doffed the cap of the official and thrown my cares to the wind. Henceforth I dream of nought but the seagull's vow and the monkey's promise, and am free to roam and bound by no responsibilities."

His friend Jussai now recommended him to go as a student to Osaka, and here, in the house of Hagama Taigyo, he made the acquaintance of Nakai Chikuzan, a teacher of Shushi

philosophy, from whom he received his first lessons in the doctrines of which he was later to become so great a teacher. Chikuzan saw the promise of future greatness in Issai, and encouraged him to continued efforts:

"When weary, go to bed; when fallen, raise yourself" was a motto which Chikuzan gave him at this period, and it doubtless served to encourage the young man who had just been forced to retire in disgrace from his clan. In 1794 we find him as a student in Yedo in the school of one Hayashi Kanjun, who, dying shortly after, was succeeded by his friend Jussai, who had been adopted by the Hayashi clan to assume the headship of the school. Issai and Jussai were therefore, henceforth, formally in the relation of pupil and professor, but practically the change made no difference in their old relations, and they continued to be fellow-students of the Chinese wisdom. Issai now devoted his energies to the thorough study of the Confucian Sacred Books, on which he wrote painstaking and luminous essays which brought him much fame, so that he received invitations from many parts of the country to go and lecture. One in particular he accepted,—to Hirado in Kyushu, where he not only lectured with great success, but where he got introductions to Chinese residents in Nagasaki which he was able to use on his homeward journey. It is worthy of notice that the Dutch at Deshima were not the only foreigners with whom the Japanese came into contact. There were many Chinese merchants of repute and education in Nagasaki, and through them Japan was able to glean a great deal of information as to the doings of the outer world.

From Hirado, Issai returned to Yedo, where he acted as superintendent of the boarding-house attached to Hayashi Jussai's school, his position and influence being immensely increased by a friendship which he made with the Lord Abbot of the great Uyeno Temple,—who was always a Prince of the Imperial Blood. Issai became a frequent and welcome guest at

the great Abbey, and was frequently invited to take part in poetical meetings.

His own clan now began to take him back to favour. He was unofficially appointed teacher to the heir of the principality, and when the old daimyo died with whom he had quarrelled in his youth, his successor appointed him to a high position in the local government, a position of honour, but apparently a sinecure, for he continued his lectures with such success that he was ultimately appointed a Professor in the Shohei University and frequently consulted on matters of grave importance. He died in Yedo in 1859, in his 88th year, leaving behind him a great number of pupils, most of whom belong to the Ōyōmei School, though he was himself an official exponent of the Shushi philosophy. "Outwardly *Shū* inwardly *Ō*" was the phrase popularly invented to describe his philosophical position.

Sato Issai System of Teaching.

How true this phrase was, may be seen from the fact that he is constantly in his books criticizing Shushi, and exposing what seem to him to be his erroneous views, at the same time that he held a position of trust as tutor of Hayashi's school, and professor in the Shohei University, where Shushi's was of course the recognized and authorized system of teaching. He was not however altogether alone in the position he assumed. Just as in the 17th century in England, the Franciscan Christopher Davenport, better known as Father Santa Clara, openly maintained the essential oneness of the Anglican and Roman Faiths, and published a commentary on the 39 Articles to demonstrate the correctness of his views, which he held without forsaking the Roman communion, so many of Sato's contemporaries, (we may mention Nekai Tōji, Banzan, Shissai, and others), maintained that there was no contradiction between Ōyōmei and Shushi, but rather essential unity. They were further of the opinion, and in this Sato seems to have also agreed with them, that this reconciliation of two schools was by no means inconsistent with the traditions of Shushi as established in Japan. It was merely

by accident that Shushi became the established creed. Fujiwara Shōkwa happened to take the Shōgun's fancy, and so his creed was adopted, for reasons of personal affection more than anything else. But the choice of the Shushi system was not intended to exclude all other methods of thought, for Shōkwa's immediate disciple, Hayashi Razan, mixed Rikuzan's philosophy with Shushi's, and if Hayashi Razan joined Riku with Shu, why should not Sato Issai join Shu with Ō (Shushi and Ōyōmei)? Fujiwara's great merit in Sato's eyes was that he had been tolerant and wide hearted, ready to admit the truth of other systems than his own, and for this reason he built a temple in honour of Fujiwara Shōkwā and adorned it with an inscription which summarily described the character of Shōkwa given above. Dr. Inouye also quotes another inscription in which Sato Issai speaks of Fujiwara Shōkwa as the true father of wisdom in Japan, and there are many passages in his books in which he speaks of the impossibility of accepting *en bloc* the views of any individual thinker.

It is undoubtedly true that both Fujiwara Shōkwa and Razan took thoughts from Rikuzan Ōyōmei and other teachers as well as from Shushi. But with them, Shushi always comes first, and it is in Shushi that their philosophy centres. Sato Issai, however, openly averred his preference for Ōyōmei over Shushi, and it was only for considerations of worldly interest that he did not proclaim himself to be a thorough-going follower of Ōyōmei's system, Like the Bishop of Gloucester in the reign of Charles 1, of whom it was said that he required £ 1500 a year to prevent him from declaring his conversion to Roman Catholicism, so Sato was a Shushi philosopher simply because he was at the head of a Shushi school. He lacked the courage of his opinions, and it was not until after his death that his real opinions were found expressed in unequivocal language. Hence, lacking moral courage, he forfeited much of that respect and influence which belong to the philosophical or religious teacher who has the courage of his convictions. Yet, in spite of all, he

was beloved and reverenced. He was born in the "year of the Dragon," as Ōyōmei had been 300 years before. A conjunction of five stars had been observed in the Heavens in China, in 1472, when Ōyōmei was born: the same conjunction was seen in Japan, in 1772, when Sato Issai first saw the light, and people who took notice of these things told one another that the Heavens had heralded the birth of a Great Teacher of Truth.

Special Points of Sato's Teaching

1. Ri and Ki. *Ri* and *Ki* Sato holds with Ōyōmei to be identical: for they cannot exist except in conjunction with each other. The order that keeps things in their places is *Ri*, while the constant motion which pervades the Universe is *Ki*. *Ri* shows that there is sovereignty: *Ki*, that there is energy.

2. Fatalism. Everything in the world is fore-ordained by a Fate which nothing can change, and a man is a fool that tries to struggle against his destiny. There is no such thing as free-will and consequently no incentive to improvement. When such doctrines were taught from professorial chairs of Shushi schools, we can understand the anxiety of the Tokugawa Government, and their ardent desire to purify the teaching of philosophy.

3. Body and Soul. The body is entirely composed of the elements of earth: soul is the indwelling of Heaven in the human heart. Man is therefore truly a microcosm, for he is a combination, in an abridged form of, "Heaven and Earth."

4. Good and Evil. The soul of man is all good, for it is the direct gift of Heaven to him. Evil is in the earth, but not essentially: it only arises from the want of good. Thus poverty is the want of wealth: and, being a want, it causes the man to steal. This evil lies entirely in the organs of sense, which are the soul's means of communication with the world of matter. Destroy them, and you destroy evil.

5. Life and Death. Life and Death stand to one another in the relation of day and night, and there is no reason to fear either death or night. The sun goes out of our world, and night comes: Heaven goes out of its dwelling-room in man, and death ensues. Neither is to be dreaded. "If you want to know what takes place after death, find out first what took place before birth." We do not look back to the one with horror, neither need we look forward to the other with dread.

Sato Issai's writings are said to resemble Schopenhauer in many points. They are also full of judicious sentiments and well-conceived phrases, many of which Dr. Inouye quotes, not in the volume on Shushi philosophy which forms the basis of this paper, but in his previous volume on the Ōyōmei heresy. It is to that school that Sato properly belongs.

Azaka Gonzai. 1785-1860. With Azaka Gonzai even more than with Satō Issai we come into the region of the modern ages. We are, that is, conscious of being among the men who were actually the makers of the Revolution of Thought which produced the Restoration of Meiji. A native of the north, Gonzai received his early education at the school kept up by the Lords of Nihon-matsu for the benefit of their retainers, and at sixteen was adopted into the family of a rich farmer named Imaizumi, to marry the daughter of the house, for whom, however, he conceived so intense a dislike that within a year he ran away from home, and with a very few sen in his pocket arrived in Yeddo. Here a priest of the Nichiren sect, Nichimyō by name, took compassion on his forlorn state, and procured for him a situation as house-servant in the family of Satō Issai whom we discussed in the last paragraph. He made the very best of the opportunities thus thrown in his way, became an ardent student, a devout adherent of the Shushi school, and in course of time a recognized teacher of ethical science, with a chair in the Shōheikō college.

An unbounded admirer of Shushi, whom he looked up to

as the greatest Confucianist since Confucius, he was much broader in his sympathies than the "Prohibition of Heresies" on the basis of which the Shōheikō College had been reconstructed.

"The Way," he said, "is open to all men, and so is the Great Learning. Neither Confucius nor Mencius either claimed or established a monopoly of it for themselves. Scholars should therefore take all that is good from all men everywhere,—not only from orthodox writers like Tei and Shū, but even from men like Riku Shōzan or Ōyōmei, whose good points should freely be accepted, as should also the teachings of Rō and Sō, and even of Shaka himself, when they commend themselves to the judgment. Even an unlearned man, a woman, or a child, may at times speak wisdom. Hence the true scholar will always keep his mind open for the reception of wisdom, from whatever quarter it may come. Men who set one school of philosophy against another, for polemical purposes, seem to forget that Shushi himself invited Shōzan to his lecture-hall, and gave him permission to speak freely to his disciples, whilst Shōzan rebuked his own disciples for presuming to criticize Shushi. A skilful worker in metal can make copper as beautiful as gold, while the clumsy artificer only succeeds in making gold look like copper. It depends on the skill of the worker in mind whether his disciples turn out to be pure gold or base copper."

Two words—*Chū*, "loyalty," and *Shin*, "faithfulness"—often found in Confucius, became to Gonzai the pivots of his teaching.

"No ancient sage," he said, "has ever been greater than Confucius, and none of his works is more precious than the Analects (*Rongo*) in which the words *chū* and *shin* (which, together, may be translated as 'fidelity') are constantly occurring. By *chūshin* we understand 'a pure heart,' 'unmixed fidelity,' and it is the duty of man to do everything with *chūshin*, to the best of his ability, and with all his might. This is the true method of moral culture."

In another passage we find him speaking as follows of the developments of Confucianism during the twenty centuries that have elapsed since the days of the Great Sage :—

"To say nothing of the three ancient dynasties (i. e. those before the age of Confucius), we find that neither during the two dynasties of the *Han*, nor yet in that of Tong, were there any scholars who deserve to be considered as anything more than interpreters, or rather re-interpreters, of the ancient Sacred Books. They were too timid to depart from the traditional interpretations of their predecessors, and even tried to cover up and make excuses for what they knew to be wrong. There was thus very little of spirit or life in their teachings, many of their opinions were ignoble and mean, and the whole age was one of darkness, far behind the standard set up by the sages. We find the first signs of awakening life in the writings of the Sung Dynasty, in which period the scholars plucked up heart boldly to discuss fundamental doctrines such as cosmogony and the nature of man. Of these scholars Shushi was the greatest, but he has been much misunderstood by subsequent generations of his followers, who have confounded reading with intellectual acquisition (*Kakubutsu*. Cf the phrase 'read, mark, learn, and *inwardly digest*') and have consequently departed far from moral culture. This period of decadence went on for a long time, with a constant deterioration of intelligence and culture, until at the last Ō-yō-mei stood up in protest against it. This philosoper is by some reckoned as an opponent of Shushi's system, but that is not so. It is true that he lays more emphasis than Shushi did upon moral culture, as contrasted with the mere culture of the intellect, but the two philosophers held identical views on the subject of Human Nature, which they both derived from Riku Shōzan. The writers, therefore, who decry Ō-yō-mei as the arch-enemy of mankind, really know nothing of his many excellencies. Again, in the present age, another change has come over Confucianist studies, for scholars turn to the text itself of the ancient

Sages and have devoted themselves to the task of etymological elucidation. These changes of method are like the successive seasons of the year: but the Way of the Sages runs through them all, like the Sun, which shines in Winter and Summer alike. In the great sphere of activity, which belongs to the Lord of Nature, there is one unchangeable law, but many petty and immaterial variations. So in the domain of Confucianism, every system of philosophy that maintains the great principles of Humanity, and is of practical use to the State, will please Confucius."

Here is another specimen of Gonzai's thought. He is writing about the secret of success.

"Success depends on a man's spirit (*Ki*, "energy.") Concentration of spirit (energy) naturally produces successful actions, though the result may not be immediately apparent. In winter all growth seems to be arrested, it is really the period when Nature is concentrating its energies for the bloom of the coming spring. Let us not talk about what we are going to do, for talking will dissipate our energies and endanger our success."

Again, he speaks of the great importance of sincerity.

"There are some things manifestly beyond the reach of mere intellectual power. But sincerity always obtains the protection of the gods, and draws the people to obedience and confidence. It is by sincerity that Sages obtain rule and win a cheerful obedience from the subjects."

In another place, speaking of true manliness, "The vicissitudes of human life," he says, "are as full of change as are the constantly shifting clouds in the sky, but the real self of a well-trained man is always constant and one, neither affected by poverty nor by any other of the adversities of human life. Such a man considers the three score and ten years of human life to be but a dream that soon passeth away, and trains himself under all changes to submit himself to the will of Heaven."

"Difficulties come," he says in another place, "in ac-

cordance with the laws of Fate. A man who cannot attain to the moral heights of a Confucius or a Gan (the most favoured of the ten personal disciples of Confucius) is apt to consider himself as one of the most unfortunate of men; but let him compare his difficulties with those experienced by the Sages of old, and he will see how little reason he has for complaint or despondency.

Humiliation is the best means of moral culture, and a poor scholar has more chances of humiliation than a rich one. The latter runs the risk of being spoiled by flattery and conceit, but many a poor man has risen through humiliation to the highest places of moral culture."

We will conclude our extracts from Gonzai's writings with a striking passage on music and poetry.

"A certain young Chinese poet," he says, "had a great admiration for an older *confrere*, and one day, thinking to please him, showed him a poem which he had written in imitation of his style. To his disappointment, the older poet gave him no word of commendation, though at a later time, when the young man began to write out of the fulness of his heart, and with no thought of the praise of others, he gained the commendation which he desired. Let no man therefore write poetry to please others, but merely as a means of bringing out his own thoughts. In the same way, Fujimura Kengyo, who was in his day a most successful musician, tells us that we should not play in order to please our audience. Our music should be an offering made before God with the best of our energies."

Motoda Tōya. 1818-1891.

The next in the succession of the Shushi hierarchy is Motoda Tōya, a native of Kumamoto, a friend of the famous loyalist Yokoi.* He was

* Yokoi Heishiro, adviser to Matsudaira, lord of Echizen, lost his life by assassination during the early forties in consequence of a daring poem in which, on the one hand he extolled Christianity, as a religion better than any that existed in Japan, while on the other hand he decried the system of primogeniture, declaring that an incapable heir to the throne should be deposed, and his place filled by the adoption of a suitable person, taken, if necessary, even from a humble family.

in 1871 appointed a lecturer before the Emperor, an office which he retained until his death in 1891. He may therefore be considered as a specimen of that combination of Confucianism and Shinto which has been the guiding principle of the men who have transformed Japan in our own days.

It must have been very difficult for him at times to lecture in such a way as to let his Confucianist theories, e. g. on cosmogony, not clash too openly with the accounts of the Creation given in the *Kojiki*, or with other narratives contained in that extraordinary book. Of the extracts given by Dr. Inouye most deal with practical ethics, and some are of considerable value.

"The way of a loyal subject is not to rejoice at promotion, nor yet to be grieved when humiliated; but to serve with a loyal heart whether in abundance or poverty, whether in a higher station or in a lower one."

"In serving his Sovereign a subject should not consider whether the Sovereign is wise or unwise, intelligent or the reverse, but should simply serve with a loyal heart."

"In giving counsel to his Sovereign, the subject should pay more heed to love than to reverence, and should try in that way to win his Master's confidence. He should give his reasons plainly, in accordance with the dictates of love, and not from any consideration of the success or failure of his plans."

"The boldest decisions, the most vigorous actions, the strongest and most abiding of motive powers, will be found to abide in or to spring from the principle of love, and the warmer the love, the better will be its results in action."

"Love alone can move others."

"Love comprehends Heaven and Earth."

"The greater a man's wisdom, the more comprehensive is his mind. The more comprehensive a man's mind, the more complete will be his virtue."

"Loyalty should be independent. Since I have been lecturer to His Majesty I have made it a rule never to ask any

of my friends or acquaintances for advice as to what I should say. I have always made plain statements of what appeared to be necessary truths, but without looking for success. Love has been the motive power of my advice, and I have never considered whether my advice would be taken or not."

"The way of loyalty is for a subject to counsel his Lord with the sincerity of his usual self. If a man should think of worldly pleasures and such things while at home, and of loyalty in the presence of his Emperor, he would be a deceiver. His Lord's business should be constantly in his mind, whether in presence or in absence."

"Reason is open to all, and should be withheld from none. There are, however, some things which should be kept secret: family affairs should not be spoken of at the Court, nor should the secrets of the Court be made known in the family."

"Shushi's maxim was that a man should be honest. It should always be borne in mind that honesty is the natural product of love."

A Collection of Motoda's Lectures delivered at the Court has been published under the title of *Keien Shinko Roku.* Professor Inouye quotes, from a lecture on the first chapter of the Analects, a passage which he characterizes as being not exactly final, but as "a happy scratching of a sore place."

"Learning is man's life-work: life without learning is sheer loss. What do we mean by learning? It is the enlightenment of a man's own nature and the study of a man's duties, both public and private, according to the Great Way of the Golden Mean, which Confucius understood and practised better than any one else, This is the Essence of Learning: but the practice and acquisition of it does not limit us to the study of any one method of thought or teaching. All so-called forms of moral culture,—Buddhism, for instance, or Christianity—may serve to enlarge our minds and our knowledge, but none of them are essential to the 'Learning' of which Confucius spoke. Europeans are very proud of their civilization, but they

neglect the 'Learning' which is the most important of all. Hence it is that we find amongst them a constant struggle for power, gain, and other material advantages, with a growing tendency to appeal to brute force or diplomatic deceit in their daily intercourse with one another. The wisdom which the Sovereign acquires must ultimately become the standard which his people will follow: it is therefore of the utmost importance that the Sovereign should be well trained in the teachings of Confucius exclusirely."

The following extract will show how far Motoda was from endorsing the materialistic tendencies which are, alas, coming as much to the frout in Japan as elsewhere.

"Some people tell me," he says in his lecture on 'Filial Piety and Brotherly Love as the Foundations of practical Charity,' —some people tell me that filial piety and brotherly love (*tei*) are mere private virtues which have very little to do with national welfare and prosperity, and that steam engines and political economy are far more potent as instruments of civilization. But to these arguments I answer with an emphatic "no." If a nation, in its national capacity, departs from the practice of these virtues, which are the very foundations of humanity, and devotes its whole thought to the acquisition of material prosperity and nothing else, the result will be that there will soon be no loyal subject left. Why is it that the so-called civilized nations are so ready to engage in war with one another? Is it not that they value the civilization which is material and intellectual more highly than they do that which is moral? If they had constantly attached more value to the latter than they have done to the former, there would have been no war among them. A true and solid peace, national or international, can only be attained by the practice of the moral virtues,"

In another lecture, speaking of love, he says:—"The principle of love comprehends the whole universe. It was love that separated the Heavens and the Earth out of the primeval chaos: it is love that causes the sun and moon to shine, the

rivers to flow, and the plants to put forth leaves and flowers. It is the source of life for all things living. Man himself is conceived and born by virtue of love, every motion, and every breath being but a manifestation of that great Motive Power. But Love must begin with the object nearest to itself, and thus flow out and out in ever widening circles. Love is unbounded: its power would not be spent even though it should comprehend all nations, all ages, and all things visible and invisible within its capacious embrace."

What a foundation is there here for a practical realization of the highest conceptions of Christianity such as the world has not yet seen!

In the matter of education he was thoroughly at one with the ideas which Japan has put and is putting into practice so vigorously and, as far as we can see, so thoroughly.

"The chief purpose of education is the bringing up of nationals (*kon-koku-jin*), and Japan would be better off with no education than with one that failed to foster the spirit of patriotism."

And yet the system of education which he had in his mind's eye was by no means a system of godless instruction. He contemplated a system that should be religious in the best, widest, and why should we not add, the highest, sense of the term. This seems to be shown by the last extract which we will quote from his lectures.

"Virtue comprehends all manner of good. Intellect apart from virtue must be crooked and perverse, and the people who try to distinguish between intellectual and moral education, and who say that the former is the all-important factor in civilization shew that they do not understand the meaning and import of the word 'virtue.'"

Nakamura Keiu. 1832-1891.

In the history of the Shushi School of philosophy during the Tokugawa period which we have been following under the guidance of Professor Inouye's lectures we have seen Confucianism allied with Buddhism in

the sixteenth century in the courbat against Christianity. When the immediate object of their alliance had been for the time attained, and Christianity had disappeared from the surface of Japanese life, we have noticed that there arose an estrangement between the two allies, all the earlier leaders of the Shushi school having been rebels against Buddhism, in one form or other. The rebellion against Buddhism produced, in the first instance, attempts to divorce religion from philosophy, and to establish systems of philosophy in which religion had no part. The divorce was impossible, and presently we find Shushi leaders like Yamazaki Anzai casting about for forms of religion to provide spiritual sanctions for the moral and intellectual conclusions of their own systems. Those sanctions some found in the national Shintoism of the eighteenth century Loyalists, whose political convictions were so near their own. It was hardly, however, to be expected that Shushi philosophers should acquiesce in the system built on the extremely unphilosophical legends of the *Kojiki*, and accordingly we find, first, an extremely rationalized system of Shinto, with elements of philosophy so extremely like those of the West as almost to suggest some unacknowledged familiarity with the forbidden teachings whose echoes still lingered faintly in the country, and then, a bold eclecticism, such as that of Gonzai and Motoda, the former of whom claims that any system which works for the good of the state is pleasing to the heart of Confucius, whilst the latter boldly includes both Buddhism and Christianity as sources from which the philosopher may profitably draw inspiration and learning. It is not without significance that the last name which Professor Inouye takes in his regular list of the Shushi succession should be that of Nakamura Keiu, the Sage of Koishikawa in Yedo, the translator of Smiles' books on 'Self-Help' and 'Character,' who was himself a professed Christian of the Unitarian type. When the seed falls to ground it dies, if it does not die it remains alone. If it dies, it germinates and brings forth, first the blade, then the

ear, and afterwards, if sunshine and rain be propitious, the full corn in the ear.

Of Nakamura himself not much is to be said. He was a professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo and established a private school of his own in Koishikawa, which for a long time was one of the flourishing centres of the nascent revival of learning. He devoted himself more to literature than to the teaching of philosophy properly so called, and, besides his books, has left behind him a collection of speeches the titles of which will suggest the thoughts which were at work in his brain.

"On the practical Identity of Moral Theories both Ancient and Modern, both Oriental and Occidental."

"I believe in the Creator."

"On the Identity of Virtue and Happiness."

APPENDIX I.

SHUSHI PHILOSOPHERS OF THE MITO SCHOOL.

Independent of the Main Branch of the Shushi philosophers there was anothers succession of teachers in the eastern town of Mito, the seat of one of the Tokugawa Houses, of whom Dr. Inouye gives a description. These philosophers have no special scientific value, but they are extremely interesting for the influence they exerted on the political developments of the country. They were ardent Imperialists, and the main work to which they devoted themselves was the Dai Nihon Shi, or History of Japan, a work whose chief aim it was to define the rightful line of the Imperial Succession, and to promote feelings of loyalty to the Imperial House.

The School commenced with Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), Daimyo of Mito, commonly known as Giko.

and continued actively propagating its opinions until the events of Meiji, made the advocacy of Imperial claims a superfluity. Mitsukuni was the grandson of Iyeyasu, and commenced the compilation of the *Dai Nihon Shi* in 1657, shortly after his own succession to the Dainyate.* That he considered the compilation of this history as the main work of his life is shown by the fact that his tombstone gives it as his principal claim to the grateful remembrance of posterity.

Many scholars were at different times connected with the compilation of this monumental history, a work which was more noted for its thorough-going advocacy of Imperialism than for its scrupulous investigations into the accuracy of the facts which it records. Amongst these scholars we notice Kuriyama Sempō (1671-1706), Azaka Tampaku (1656-1737) Miyake Kwanran (1675-1712) and a Chinaman named Shun Shunsui. It is to be noted that Chinese Influences were considerable in Mito at this period, the Lord of Mito having given an asylum to several distinguished refugees from China who, in return, rendered him many services such as the laying out of the beautiful gardens of the Mito Yashiki in Tokyo. It was at this period also that was founded the Obaku sect of Zen Buddhism, a small sect which has many Chinese peculiarities.

The original compilers of the *Dai Nihon Shi* were not absolutely at one in their views. Thus Kuriyama Senpo maintained that the actual possession of the three "divine treasures" (sword, seal and mirror,) was sufficient to establish the legitimacy of the occupant of the throue, while Miyake Kwanran insisted that legitimacy depended more on the rightfulness of the claim than on the simple possession of heirlooms which might be acquired by force or frand. The disagreement between the compilers produced a certain amount of inevitable hesitancy in their judgments, but Kuriyama's opinions seem to have prevailed, the legitimacy of the Emperor Go Komatsu, of

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* Appendix II.

the northern Dynasty, being allowed on the ground that he was actually in possession of the Divine Instruments.

After the death of the last of the original batch of workers, the compilation of the history was much neglected, and very little was done in this direction until the years immediately preceding the Restoration, when the Mito historians once more renewed their activity. Noteworthy names in connection with these labours are Tachiwara Suiken (1744-1823) a philosopher of the "Classical School," though favourably disposed to Shushi doctrines, Fujita Yūkoku (1774-1826), whose "learning comprehended all ages and all theories and who decided all things by the Sacred Books," Fujita Tōko (1806 1855) son of the above, with his friend and contemporary Aizawa Yasushi, and last, but not least, the great Tokugawa Seishō, better known as Rekkō, one of the leading spirits in the great movement of the fifties which culminated in the overthrow of his own House, and the restoration of the Imperial Family on the ruins of the Tokugawa. It is too early as yet to write a calm and trustworthy history of the stirring times in which these men laboured and strove, but certainly no history of Japan will be complete which leaves out of consideration the school of philosophers, nominally Shushi, which found safety under the protecting *aegis* of the great Mito Daimyos of the House of Tokugawa. The year 1907 has seen the final completion of this great History.

APPENDIX II.

I am indebted to Mr. Hagiya, of the Normal School at Mito, for the following account of the *Dai-nihon-shi*.

It was in the second year of Shōhō* (2305 after the accession of the Emperor Jimmu) that Mitsukuni first conceived the idea of compiling the "Dai Nihon Shi."

One day he was reading the biography of Hakui in the Shiki (a book of Chinese history), when he was so much moved

* A. D. 1645.

with admiration at his noble character that he patted the book and said with a sigh: "But for this record, I should not know about the civilization of the Gu and Ka ages (two ancient dynasties in China). Then how can I, unless it be by history, induce my posterity to acquire the knowledge of the past and thus move them to noble deeds?" He then determined to put the plan in execution.

In the third year of Meireki (A. D. 1657). Mitsukuni at the age of thirty established a historiographical bureau at which a number of learned men in his service were engaged. This is the book which was entitled the "Dai nihonshi" in the fifth year of Shōtoku (1715), and which has been known by that name down to the present day.

Mitsukuni was filial to his father and affectionate to his brothers. He kept no concubines though it was the custom of the day, and in everything else conducted himself on ethical principles. He also made no small efforts in order to give his people a clear idea of their loyal duty and the distinction between the Emperor and the subjects. At the time of his birth, the days of civil war were over, and the country was at peace under the Shogun Taiyūkō (Iemitsu), who by successfully carrying out the policy of his father ruled the country with greater influence than ever. As it was, there was nothing in the world that troubled Mitsukuni's mind except the vices of the bloody age which still prevailed, and the deficiencies in the virtue of loyalty and in the idea of right and title. It was most necessary to institute these doctrines into the minds of the people in general, and to impress moral ideas upon them, otherwise there would be no knowing what might not be done at any time against the throne under the same pretexts as actuated the Hōjōs and the Ashikagas. These points which Mitsukuni was most afraid of, led him to strengthen his determination on the compilation of the history. Of the innumerable books written by him, the Dai-nihon-shi still remains an immortal work for all generations. All arrangements and plans were made

after repeated consultations with his historians and with the utmost prudence. It may rightly be said that one half of his cares throughout his lifetime were concentrated in this work. To take away the Empress Jingō from the list of the successors of the throne; to place Prince Ōtomo (the Emperor Kobun) in the rank of Emperors; to regard the Nancho family as having the legitimate claim to the throne; and at the same time to recognize the claim of the Emperor Go-Komatsu, the Three Sacred Vessels having been returned to Kyoto during his reign,—but for broad outlook of Mitsukuni, who could have accomplished all these great changes in the history of Japan? Thus the legal and illegal claims to the throne, the loyal and disloyal subjects, are discriminated in the book beyond possibility of doubt.

In the third year of Kanbun (1663) when Mitsukuni was thirty eight years of age, he engaged for his new service Shu-shi-yu (also called Shunsui by his literary name), a Chinese scholar and a refugee of the Min Dynasty, from Yanagawa in Chikugo province (Japan). It was twenty years after Mitsukuni had first thought of compiling the history, and eight years after he had actually set about the work. So it admits no doubt that the Chinese scholar had nothing to do with this scheme of Mitsukuni, nor did he give any suggestions with regard to the book, since the work was done by the historians especially commissioned by Mitsukuni. Mitsukuni, a true friend of the wise, had an inordinate love for knowledge. He looked up to Shu-shi-yu as a great scholar of the Min Dynasty, and condescended himself to treat him as his teacher, from whom he received lectures, as a disciple, on morality and learning with dauntless assiduity. In short, Mitsukuni sought for the thorough mastery of the moral teachings of the sages (Confucius and Mencius) as well as the literature and the ethics, both ancient and modern.

On April 17th in the second year of Tenwa (1628 A. D.), Shushi-yu died a natural death at the age of 83. On the 26th,

his remains were interred by Mitsukuni at the foot of Zuiryū-san, in the Kuji district of Hitachi province, the mound being made after the manner of the Min Dynasty. On the 7th of July, Mitsukuni after consulting with his officials, gave him the posthumous name, "Bun-kyo Sensei, (a worshipper of learning). In the first year of Teikyo (A. D. 1666), a shrine dedicated to him was erected in the villa at Komagome, Yedo, and an annual festival was held in his memory. In the 8th year of Genroku, a monument was erected in his honor at the foot of Zuiryū-san, on which were inscribed the following characters by Mitsukuni himself: "Minchōkun-Shi shu shi-no-haka" (the tomb of Shishu-shi from the Min Dynasty). He also published a collection of thirty volumes written by Shu-shi-yu with these words, "Compiled by Minamoto no Mitsukuni, a disciple of the author."

The circumstances of Shu-shi-yu's coming to Mito were in substance as follows.

He was born on the 12th of July, the 28th year of Manreki during the Min Dynasty. From childhood, he showed marked sagacity equal even to a grown man. When he grew to be a boy, he devoted himself in learning and soon came to be known for his promising genius. In his twelfth year, he was disgusted at the moral corruption of the world and the deplorable state of things in his country. Giving up his idea of entering on a public career, he decided to enjoy a secluded life. From that time he persisted in a flat refusal to the frequent calls of the court for his service, nor did he lend his ears to any advice of his friends for eminence. In the fifth year of Eireki, the army of the Shin (the present dynasty of China) was on the point of threatening the throne of his dynasty. Expecting nothing but the downfall of his country, Shu-shi-yu fled to Annam by way of Shūzan (a southern state) and thence to Japan. It is supposed that he intended, with the help of the chiefs of Shūzan, to borrow reinforcements from our country in secret, though he never uttered a word of this design during

his stay in Japan. At the time, it being prohibited for any foreigners to remain in this country, he was compelled to return to Shūzan. He found his country in a state of great confusion, law and order being disregarded. Anxious as he was to save his country from destruction, there was nothing for it but to leave it to the natural issue. In the seventh year, he made his second visit to Japan, but soon after went over to Annam. By thus wandering abroad, he probably meant to rouse the hearts of his country-men towards their land. Indeed, he did his best in order to bring about a new state of things but to his great disappointment, he found his strenuous efforts all fruitless. Everything went against him. At last being conscions that his further stay at home would only induce him the more to follow the customs of the new dynasty, Shin, broke his hat, tore his robe, shaved his head, and thus disguising himself and giving up all his schemes, resolved to go abroad for the preservation of his fidelity. In the thirteenth year, he came a third time to Japan and resided at Nagasaki. (the second year of Manji, 2319 A. D. 1663)

A scholar of Yanagawa in Chikugo province, Andō Moriyasu (also called Shōan as a literary name) who had a sincere regard for the learning and virtue of Shu-shi yu, was solicitous for his instruction and besought him to remain in this country. This being granted, the scholar submitted a paper signed by him and his associates to the Nagasaki governor for permission for Shu-shi-yu to stay in Japan. This request was granted and Shu shi-yu, a poor wanderer abroad with no means to support himself, now found a friend in this Japanese, who had the liberality to divide half the sum of his own salary for his subsistence and who spent all his spare time in receiving his lectures on Chinese classics, in which branch he was soon making rapid improvement.

In the fourth year of Kanbun, Mitsukuni sent to Nagasaki, Koyake Seijun, a scholar in his service, to inquire for the wise and the learned for the purpose of collecting materials for the

"Dai-nihon-shi." Seijun frequented Shu-shi-yu's house where the two were often engaged in discussions on topics, ancient and modern. "If a lord in Yedo is anxious for your teaching," asked he to Shu-shi-yu, "would you comply and come to the east?" "The development of learning and the preaching of moral doctrine," replied Shu-shi-yu," are all important for a country, especially for yours. I have indeed a great hope for this land; if I am to be treated not by the sum of salary, but with civility proper for a teacher, I will go, notwithstanding my deficiencies both in virtue and wisdom. But being unworthy of teaching in a college, you must give me time to think more about it." On Seijun's returning to Yedo, Mitsukuni was told in detail of the talent, wisdom, and noble character of Shu-shi-yu. In the following year, he asked the government for permission to employ him, and when it was granted, he sent for him at once.

When the message reached Shu-shi-yu, he held a consultation with his interpreter and disciples as to whether or not he should go to his new office. All of them said, "Mitsukuni, who is eager for knowledge and respects the wise, has sent this special message for you. You ought not to decline this." At last he was persuaded, and in July he set out for Yedo, where he was received with the greatest courtesy by Mitsukuni as his teacher and friend. In August Mitsukuni returned to his estate in company with Shu-shi-yu. In December they went up to Yedo and then to Mito. Whenever they met and talked together, Shu-shi-yu would always give necessary suggestions and advice by hints and allusions to events, ancient and modern, to the satisfaction of his disciple. Chinese classics and moral doctrine were always their favorite subjects of study and discussion. In the eighth year, they returned to Yedo, where Shu shi-yu was treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy.

REFERENCE BOOKS FOR THE ABOVE STATEMENT.

1.—Preface to the "Dai-nihon-shi." 大日本史序文
2.—History of the Compilation of the same. 修史始末
3.—Biographical Story of Gikō. 義公行實
4.—Biographical Story of Shun-suni sensei. 舜水先生行實
5.—History of the Kōdokan. 弘道館記述義
6.—History of Hitachi province. 常陸國誌
7.—Anecdotes of Tōgen. (桃源遺事)
8.—Dai Nihon Biographical Dictionary. (大日本人名辭書)
9.—Chinese Biographical Dictionary. (支那人名辭書)
10.—Educational History of Japan. (日本教育史)

KAMO CHŌMEI'S "NAMELESS SELECTION."

無　名　抄

By Karel Jan Hora.

Mumeishō—the "Nameless Selection"—is, according to the opinion of some Japanese authors the last of Kamo Chōmei's works, published shortly before, or after the poets death.[1] (1214 or later.) It is represented by two large thin volumes blockprinted, each of them containing about forty short articles relating to various literary subjects. These stories are dry in style and without much literary value and perhaps could not be collected under a more suitable title than that which the author gives them—the "Nameless Selection."

These two books contain a selection from the poet's scratchbook, and though insignificant at first glance, they are a treasure box for the inquiring student of Japanese literature and philology. They contain short but interesting descriptions of Chōmei's contemporaries bits about their private lives, the style of their poems, their opinions on divers literary subjects; their fancies and quarrels, ending sometimes with Chōmei 'sopinions on these subjects. Most of the distinguished literary men who lived

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1. When comparing the incomplete and in a simple style written articles in the "Nameless Selection" with the carefully composed seiltences in the "Hōjōki" and the "Shiki Monogatari" it seems more credible that Chōmei never expected to publish the notes which apparently were jotted down for his own reference and use. They perhaps were collected and arranged by somebody else after Chōmei's death. Even the article serving as an introduction to the Mumeishō has perhaps figured in the contents of these notes and was later changed to serve its purpose as an intoductory article.

before Chōmei's time are touched upon and opinions of much interest are given. This book especially shows Chōmei in his true light—as a poet interested in everything that was written or discussed in his time, a minute observer of character and a man well acquainted with the oldest Japanese literature. The seventy nine articles of the "Nameless Selection" may be divided into three distinct classes, the first being discussions of poems and style, the second incidents in the lives of different poets; the third is interesting only to the philologist, containing discussions about the origin and proper usage of certain ancient words.

In order to show the Mumeishō and the character of its contents, it did not seem necessary to translate all of the articles therein and a few were selected which it seemed would represent the work. A translation of the table of contents is added. In this the titles of the articles show well the character of the subjects treated. This may be of some value to those who desire information about a particular subject discussed, and will simplify the work to the extent of making a laborious search of the original table of contents quite unnecessary, or at least limited.

All following translations were made from the edition published on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the twenty second year of Genkō. (1323).[1]

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1. In the original 元享二二年 which I believe is mistaken for 元享二年 or for 元享三年.

INTRODUCTION.

"The spirit of a poem's subject should be well understood" is written in Toshiyori's book called Zuinō.[1]

Things which may be expressed indirectly sound badly when not expressed in this manner, as even some things not expressed should be understood. Take for example: The morning sunshine *in the heavens*,[2] the falling *of blossoms*,[3] *the hototogisu* flying across the clouds,[4] the moonshine *on the sea*,[5] and other similar expressions. The second part[6] should never be mentioned, because when reading the first part the second is understood.

How to suggest different subjects lightly cannot be taught, neither can it be learned. But if the subject of the poem is well grasped even this art of light suggestion will be understood. If a flower is the subject; the poem must be wrought with deep feeling: wishes of infinite joy, and of constant love should be expressed. In these poems the poet may offer his life for that of a fading flower or forget his way home while gazing at the reddening maples. All such poems must be written with deep understanding. Some poems of the old collections do not posses this quality but their good style covers these faults. Yet such poems should not be taken as an example. When poems are read at meetings the poem showing the broader comprehension of the subject is always considered best as even a priest preaching Buddhist doctrines will be better understood if he firmly believes in the subject of his discourse.

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1. Minamoto no Toshiyori, a well known poet of the twelfth century; edited the Kinyo Wakashū (金葉和歌集) and wrote the following books: Sansui Zuinō (山水隨圖), Mumeishō (無名抄), Kuden (口傳), a collection of poems, and Enshō Awase (艷書合) a collection of love letters.
2. Gyō-ten (曉天)
3. Rakka (落花)
4. Kumo ma no hototogisu (雲間の時公)
5. Kaijō no tsuki (海上の月)
6. printed in Itallics.

One must always take care not to err in the subject matter described by the poem, but to hold to the subject too firmly is also bad.

For example the hototogisu being the subject, the poet's mind must search the hototogisu in mountain and field, and describe its song as if he really heard it. But he must never say he waited for the uguisu to sing. When speaking of the cry of the deer he may suggest depression and sorrow; but he never should say that he waited for him to cry. Errors of this kind would spoil even the best poem. The poet may search for sakura blossoms but never for yanagi—he may expectantly look for the first snow but never for autumn rains and hailstorms. He may offer his life for the fading flowers but never for maple leaves.

Neglect of these essentials would suggest that one is not familiar with the old poets. It is therefore better to know and to understand old poems and their qualities also to consult them when trying to improve by their style.

WRITING IN KANA.

Old people say that Kokinshū was the first book in which Kana was used in writing the introduction. The first diary written in Kana is Ō-kagami. Ise Monogatari and Gosenshū were the first books in which Kana was used in writing poems—and the best Monogatari thus written is the Genji.[1]

This should be well considered and imitated. Everything should be written without the use of Manyogana[2] and only such things which cannot be well expressed in Kana should be written in Manyo. In Manyoshū all "leaping" signs also those that must be accentuated are left out. For example "Shinra" is written "Shira." In the introduction to Kokinshū "Kisen" is substituted by "Kise"—which illustrates what I said. To make the composition good certain expressions should not be used beside each other, for in using the same expression repeatedly Kana may not convey the meaning and Manyo must be introduced. This of course is meant only for bad poems.

In the introduction to Kokinshū this pair is written: "*Hana ni naku uguisu, mizu ni sumu kawazu.*"[3] In this way different figures may be used but one must take care not to become too rigid. In places of comparison as "*suga no ne no nagaki yo,*" "*koyurugi no isogite,*" "*Iso no kami furimuru*"[4] etc., expressions that were used of old should be employed or others may be skilfully made.

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1. Comments on all of these works may be found in Mr. W. G. Aston's History of Japanese Literature.

2. See Prof. B. H. Chamberlain's excellent work: Practical Introduction to the study of Japanese Writing; Seventh section: "More about the Kana."

3. Translated in W. G. Aston's Hist. of Jap. Lit. p. 63.: ".....the nightingale singing among the flowers.....the frog dwelling in the water....."

4. "long as the roots of suga" (a kind of rush); "busy like koyurugi" (a kind of small tree growing along the seashore and busily shaking when touched by the waves), "decaying like a shrine on the seashore....."

Shomei said that Kiyosuke[1] was very clever in using the Kana. In his first book called Eiku no Nikki he used this excellent phrase: "*Hana no moto ni hana no marodo kitari; kaki no moto ni Kakinomoto no ei wo kaketari*[2]....." The Kana style should be like this.

DISCOURSE ABOUT SHIKIBU[3] AND AKAZOME.[4]

A certain man said:

—In Toshiyori's book "*Zuinō*" it is stated that Sadayori Chūnagon[5] once asked Kintō Dainagon:"[6] Which is the more famed Shikibu or Akazome?"—The Dainagon's answer was: "Shikibu wrote *Koya to mo hito wo yū beki ni*[7]..... I cannot say which of the two poets is the better."—Continuing

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1. Fujiwara Kiyosuke, a poet. Died 1177. Wrote: Kokinshū no Chū (古今集の註), Waka Ichiji Shō (和歌一字抄), Kiyosuke Ason Shū (清輔朝臣集), Kinsen Shū (金撰集), Bokuteki Shū (牧笛集), Zoku Shikwa Waka Shū (續詞花和歌集), Ogi Shō (奥儀抄), Fukuro Zōshi (袋草紙), Kōyō Waka Shū (紅葉和歌集), and Eiku no Nikki (影供の日記) which I found nowhere mentioned, except in this article.

2. ....."a guest came to the flower and Kakinomoto's shadow fell to the root of the persimon tree," which phrase sounds in translation very cluinsy and is nct even a paraphrase of the original. (Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, mentioned above was an excellent poet of the eigth century.)

3. Izumi Shikibu, poetess (11th century?)

4. Akazome no Emon, poetess, (11th century?) supposed author of the Ei_wa Monogatari. (榮華物語)

5. Fujiwara no Sadayori, (994-1045).

6. Fujiwara no Kintō, poet (965-1041.) father of Fujiwara no Sadayori. Became priest in 1024, and lived on Kitayama Mount near Kyoto.

He wrote: Shinsen Zuinō (新撰髓腦)
Kitayama Shō (北山抄)
Wakan Rōei Shū (和漢朗詠集)

7. —Tsu no kuni no, koya to mo hito wo, yū beki ni, hima koso nakere, ashi no yaebuki.—(from Izumi Shikibu Shū.)

the Chūnagon said: "Some people called Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase yama no ha no tsuki*[1].....excellent....."— The Dainagon replied: "This is because people judge without knowing. *Kuraki yori kuraki ni iru*.....is a Buddhist phrase which needs no explanation. The final phrase of the poem can readily be understood from the beginning. But consider *Koya to mo hito wo yū beki ni* and *Hima koso nakere ashi no yae buki*.....which expressions no ordinary person could imitate. I have answered."

In this discourse there are two things which are difficult to understand. It is said that Shikibu is excellent; but when consulting the documents reporting poets' meetings held in public and those held by the court officials one may see that Akazome was highly esteemed. There is nothing written about Shikibu. Then again if Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase* is consulted one will find there, not only an elegant style, but good sentiment. Why then did the Dainagon refuse to answer? I cannot understand his motive.....—

The man added.

I will try to explain:—Which of the two was better Shikibu or Akazome, the Dainagon could not decide. Many think that Shikibu excelled. During a man's life, people, observing his deeds both good or bad usually value him according to personal character. The style of Shikibu's poems has no equal.....but it seems that Akazome was not sufficiently circumspect[2] in her intercourse with people.

If one consults *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*[3] he will find the following statement:—"Izumi Shikibu writes sometimes of mat

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1. —Kuraki yori, kuraki michi nizo, irinubeki, haruka ni terase, yama no ha no tsuki.—This poem Shikibu sent to Shōku Shōnin. It means: "In dark places, upon dark roads people throd; Illuminate the world, you, rising moon!"—

2. We are told that Akazome's life resembled to that lead by the hero of the Ise Monogatari.

3. Murasaki Shikibu Nikki, (紫式部日記) a diary of the poetess Murasaki Shikibu the author of Genji Monogatari (died 992.)

ters which she does not well understand. She writes hastily but in good style. Thus her works seem to be written with good taste, and express sentiment. But her poems are in fact not poems. People when reading them, read over and over adding here and there a good word. Shikibu could not judge other poems, good or bad. She wrote just as her mouth recited, and therefore I do not think that she could be called excellent.

The mother of Tamba no Kami was known in the palace under the name Masahira no Emon.[1] She was not of noble descent but she wrote beautiful poems. Being a true poet she wrote upon few subjects and even those poems dealing with the most insignificant subjects were very good."—

Not being of noble descent the style of her poems was little valued in her lifetime, though she was skillfull. She wrote many excellent things and her poetry prompted by all occasions was good ; specimens were included in every collection then published.

A man called Sone no Yoshitada whose poetry was an object of ridicule during his lifetime, once went voluntarily on a celebration trip with Emperor Enyū[2] and nowadays the style of his poems is considered good.

During the reign of Emperor Ichijō[3] when poetry became the fashion these seven poets were pronounced skilled in a book written by E-no-Sotsu :[4] Michinobu, Sanekata, Nagayoshi, Sukechika,[5] Shikibu, Emon, and Sone no Yoshitada. Perhaps even these poets were during their lives not much praised.

In speaking of Shikibu's poems and considering whether they were good or bad Kintō no Kyō was not unjust. But the man who remarked that the Dainagon's judgement was strange, was right.—In short if it was to judge the skill of the poet *Koya to mo hito wo* is good but Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase* is far the better one.

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1. Akazome ? 2. Reigned 986-1011. 3. Reigned 969-984.
4. E-no-sotsu, seems to be another name of Kojijū, son of Akazome no Emon.
5. Ōnakatomi Sukechika, Shintō priest, (956-1036.)

To give an example: If, while passing along a road one sees gold laying in the dust, that gold is a treasure. But even the most beautiful and skillfully made skewer or needle cannot be called treasures.

If a man wants gold and has it he cannot be honoured for having it. The needle is not a treasure but if its proprietor uses it to produce beautiful articles he should be praised for his skill. In this spirit did the Damagon judge.

When judging poems it must be remembered that their merits changed with time and therefore it is possible that at the time *Koya to mo hito wo* was written it was considered good. But people do not seem to know this and it is for better men of a later date to definitely decide this question.

ONO NO KOMACHI.[1]

Before Nijō no Kisaki became empress it is told, that she was stolen by Narihira no Ason[2] and carried away. But her brothers discovered and returned her to her home. This adventure is well discribed in the Nipon-ki.[3]

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1. Ono no Komachi, poetess of the tenth century, well known composer of Waka poems many of which appear in Tsurayuki's collection Kokin Wakashū. It is related that she became very poor and unpopular in her old age. For this reason she left the capitol and went to ask alms throughout the country. The place and date of her death are unknown. She is the author of Ono no Komachi Shū (小野小町集) Tsurayuki says: There is feeling in her poems but little vigour. She is like a lovely woman who is suffering from ill health.....

2. Ariwara no Narihira was the child of prince Ahō. He was a well known poet and according to old traditions the best looking man of old Japan. He died in 880. Narihira wrote: Ariwara no Narihira Ason Shū (在原業平朝臣集)

3. I have been unable to find any comment on this story—except in the s xth chapter of the Ise Monogatari, in a note, which appears both in the Genna and the Genroku editions: "(This girl's name was Takako. In the fourth month of the first year of Gwankyo (877) she became empress at the age of twenty six.) Nijō a very graceful maiden was at that time in the emperors house as concubine. She was stolen and carried away on the back of her captor....."

The two brothers being very angry with Narihira no Ason cut off his cue, which fact though unknown to the people made him ashamed to go among them. He therefore announced that he would take a trip to Azuma in order to gather material for his songs. In Michi no Kuni while making his journey thence he stopped in a village called Yasujima. At night he heard somebody in the fields sing the first half (Kami no ku) of a poem.....

"*Aki kaze no, fuku ni tsukete mo, aname.....aname*[1].....

He looked in vain for the singer—he discovered nothing except a human scull.

In the morning when he again went to behold the scull he saw that from one of the eye cavities a susuki[2] plant was growing, and the wind blowing through its leaves sang the song. Upon inquiry he was informed by a man that the scull was that of Ono no Komachi.

Narihira upon hearing it felt very sad and wept—at that time he composed the remainder of the song.....

"*Ono to wa iwaji, susuki oitari*[3].....".

The field in which this had occured was called Tamatsukuri no Ono. Was perhaps Tamatsukuri no Komachi[4] and Ono no Komachi one and the same person? People argue it.

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1. Even if the autumn wind blows, lonely, lonely.....

2. Eularia Japonica.

3. Without saying that it is Ono, the susuki grows.....(the word "ono" is here used with two meanings. See prof. B. H. Chamberlain's essay "On the use of pillow words and plays upon words in Japanese Poetry" in Vol. V. Part: I, of these Transact.)

4. Tamatsukuri no Komachi is according to some Japanese critics the name used by Ono no Komachi after she had left the capitol. (see Nipon Jinmei Jishō.)

QUARREL OF TOSHIYORI AND KISHUN.

It is told that Kishun[1] called Toshiyori an illiterate. Toshiyori hearing it said: "Neither Fumitoki[2] and Tomotsuna[3] nor Mitsune[4] and Tsurayuki[5] wrote good poems—."

ON THE END OF THE FIRST PART OF A POEM "TE" SHOULD NOT BE USED.

Again, it is said that toward the end of autumn Toshiyori Ason read this poem at a priests house in Unkyo-ji:

"*Akenu to mo, nao aki kaze no, otozurete,*
Nobe no keshiki yo, onogawari suru."[6]

Though no name of the author was read Kishun knew the poem was unmistakably Toshiyori's and with the intention of challenging him he said: "How can this be called a poem? Using *te* in the middle of a poem is decidedly wrong. It shocks the ear—it sounds terribly."—In this manner he spoke continually of it, but Toshiyori deigned him no reply.

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1. Fujiwara no Kishun (12th century) known because of his skill in composition. Being very conceited and a pityless critic, he had no friends among his contemporaries. Even Chōmei did not like him; his selfesteem being exposed in a few stories of the Mumeishō. He wrote: Etsumoku Shō (悦目抄) Shin Sanjūrokka Sen (新三十六歌仙) and Shin Sen Roei Shū (新撰朗詠集)

2. Sugawara no Fumitoki (897-981?) excellent in composition.

3. Oe no Tomotsuna, poet, (died 957) Wrote Kon gen roku (坤元錄) and Shin koku shi (新國史), both works in Chinese.

4. Ochi kochi no Mitsune, poet, lived in the ninth century. He was the most intimate friend of Tsurayuki.

5. Ki no Tsurayuki, (died 946) the best known poet of Japan. With Mitsune and Mibu no Tadami he edited the Kokin Wakashū for which he himself wrote the introduction. He wrote: Shin Sen Waka Snū (新撰和歌集) Manyō Shū Shō (萬葉集抄) and Tossa Nikki (土佐日記). See Mr. W. G. Aston's essay "An ancient Japanese Classic" in Vol. III. Part II. of these Transactions.

6. "Even as the end of autumn comes the autumn wind still blows and changes the scenes of the field."

Rinken a man from Ise said: "I also know a famous poem,"—to which Kishun replied:" Well let us hear it—I know it will not be worth hearing."—Rinken said: "*Sakura chiru, kono shita kaze wa, samukarade*[1]....." and he made that "*te*" on the end very long and loud.

Kishun's face became green with anger; he made no reply but drooped his head. At that time Toshiyori smiled faintly.....

NAKATSUNA'S POEMS CONTAIN IDIOMS.

Izu no Kami Nakatsuna[2] published a collection of one hundred of his poems, making in them a very frequent use of the colloquial.

When Dai Ni Nyudō heard it he remarked: "A man using such language in poems may write one hundred or one thousand good poems but no one reading them will ever say that they are good."

Such faults happen to be in poems if nobody is asked to correct them.

DOIN'S ZEAL IN POETRY.

Noone compares with Doin Nyudō[3] who was very zealous in writing poems. Till his seventieth or eightieth year he pray-

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1. "Sakura blossoms are falling-but here below the wind seems not cold.....

2. Minamoto no Nakatsuna, son of Minamoto no Yorimasa, favorite varrior of Takakura Tennō died with his father in 1183. See note 1 p. 95 Wrote: Hyaku Waka Shū (百和歌集)

3. The lay bonze Doin, son of Fujiwara Kiyotaka. Wrote Genzon Shū (現存集)

ed for the ability of composing good poems and to that account he made every month a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, which was a very hard task indeed.

At a poets' meeting it happened that Kiyosuke, who was correcting poems not considering those of Doin good enough threw them away. But a short time after Doin came to his house crying earnestly and asking for an explanation. Kiyosuke pitied him but could give him no answer.

When Doin became ninety he was so deaf that at poets' meetings he had to sit very near to the reader in order to hear and when talking privately had to put his ear close to the speaker's mouth.

When Senzaishū was compiled (which was after the death of Doin) there were eighteen of his songs included into this collection. They were not very good but were put there in recognition of his zeal. In a dream Doin appeared before the compiler[1] and with tears of joy in his eyes thanked him for his deed. Then the compiler pitying him included two more songs and thus it happened that there were twenty of his poems included. This is written in a book.

ABOUT THE DIFFERENT NAMES FOR THE WAVE.

Noritsuna Nyudō said that there were many names for the wave: O-nami, Sa-nami, Sazara-nami, Sone-te-utsushi, and Hama-narashi, all of these being names of waves but the kinds of wave which they expressed were not known.

When asking Kenshō, he said that small waves are called Sa-nami, Saza-nami, Sazara-nami, and that all these names are used to beautify the poem and that one may use that name

1. Fujiwara no Shunzei, who completed Senzaishū in 1186.

which one thinks best. But a man who came from Shimato in Tsukushi province, speaking about different things said without being asked: "South from Tsukushi, I forgot whether in Osami or Satsuma there is a big port where during the fourth and the fifth month big waves are rising. The waves in the fourth month are called U-nami, while in the fifth month people call them Sa-nami." It would be quite interesting to know whether those names are from Uzuki and Satsuki.[1]

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "ASARI" AND "ISARI."

Certain people believe that "Asari" has the same meaning as "Isari." A thing which is done in the morning is called "Asari," if done in the evening "Isari." This is the dialect of women-divers of Azuma.—Truly an interesting thing.

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1. Uzuki=April, Satsuki=May.

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1. Minamoto no Yorimasa, (Genzai Nyudō) well known varrior and poet. (1105-1180) Died in the combat with Taira no Kiyomori. Wrote: Yorimasa Kiyō Shū (頼政卿集).

2. Son of Minamoto no Toshiyori (end of 12th cent.) Wrote: Kaen Shō (歌苑鈔), Kasen Awase (歌撰合), Shun-e Hoshi Shū (俊恵法師集).

3. 歌仙—a celebrated poet.

4. Poetess, maid of emp. Shirakawa-in. (12th cent.)

5. 和琴 a harp of six strings.

6. Kakinomoto no Hitomaro.

7. 傀儡 has been used with different meanings, primarily meaning a doll, then a dancing girl, and lastly a prostitute.

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1. Buddh. priest, died 1150.

2. Poet of the ninth cent. Wrote Sarumaru Tayū Shū (猿丸大夫集)

3. Otomo no Kuronushi, also called Shigi no Kuronushi, poet of high reputation of the end of the ninth century. After his death he became god under the name: Kuronushi Myōjin.

4. Wrote: Waka Sashiki (和歌作式)

5. Fujiwara no Shunzei, good artist and poet, Kishun's pupil. Died 1204. Edited: Senzai Waka Shū (千載和歌集) Wrote: Korai Futei Shō (古來風体抄), Chō Shuei Sō (長秋詠草).

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1. Ise no Osuke, poetess of the eleventh century. Wrote: Ise no Osuke Shū (伊勢大輔集)
2. Son of Akazome no Emon.
3. Poetess and artist of the twelfth cent.
4. Artist of the 12th cent.
5. Shōbu.
6. Lespedeza Bicolor.
7. Tachibana no Tamenaka. Wrote: Minamoto no Tamenaka Shū.
8. Minamoto no Yorisane, (11th cent) Wrote: Minamoto no Yorisane Shū (源俊賢集)

33.—Criticism's of bad poets.
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35.—Meeting in Norikane's[1] house.
36.—The disorder of a recent meeting.
37.—About the Monogatari of lay bonze Shunzei.

1. Fujiwara no Norikane, died 1165. Wrote: Waka Dōmō Shō (和歌童蒙抄), Kun Shū Rui Shō (訓集類抄), Go Roku Roku Sen (後六六撰).

KING WILLIAM III OF HOLLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM II. OF HOLLAND AND THE SHŌGUN OF JAPAN.

A. D. 1844.

Several years ago while studying the life of Takano Chōei, or Nagahide as he was probably called in his day, a well known scholar of the Dutch language and literature, who fell a victim to the narrow intolerance of the Tokugawa Government in 1850, my attention was drawn to a letter from the King of Holland, William II., dated February fifteenth, 1844, which was described as having an important relation to the opening of the country to foreign trade.

A translation of this letter was reproduced *in extenso*, though the source from which the translation was borrowed was not indicated.

My friend and former pupil, Professor N. Murakami, of the Imperial University of Tokyo, informs me that what appears to be the official translation is contained in a manuscript entitled *Oranda Ō Shokan narabi ni Kenjōbutsu Mokuroku*, that is to say, "The letter of the King of Holland and the list of his presents [to the Shōgun]." This manuscript I have not been able to find.

It is supposed by some that this manuscript, or its duplicates, is the source from which the various current versions are derived. However, in the work of Watanabe Shujirō, *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin* ("The Japanese in the World," to use the author's own rendering), where the version which I have chiefly used in my references is to be found, the text of the letter is interrupted by numerous comments which were apparently written very early, if not immediately after the receipt of the

document, perhaps for the special benefit of the Shogun himself. These comments are absent from the version in the life of Takano, though the text of the translation is apparently the same as that used by Watanabe Shujirō. A Manuscript copy of the same translation is preserved in the military museum at the Kudan in Tōkyō. The variations are apparently merely the errors of the copyist. There is an apparently independent translation in Count Katsu Awa's *History of the Japanese Navy* (*Kaigun Rekishi*).

This letter has received little attention from foreign writers on Japanese affairs, though in a biographical sketch of Philipp Franz Siebold, prefixed to the second edition of his work entitled "Nippon,"[1] there is a short extract from it. In the few prefatory words by the editors, the sending of the document is described as "a not sufficiently appreciated step." They further say that the letter might well have been edited by Siebold himself. Certainly, in a letter to Prince Henry of the Netherlands,[2] written from St. Petersburg in March, 1853, he gives expression to much the same sentiments as are contained in the royal missive and he seems to have regarded it as in a sense his special mission to advocate, in Russia as well as Holland, the policy which King William had outlined, namely, that in the interest of Japan herself, as well as that of the commercial world, the country should be speedily opened to foreign trade.

Dr. Inazo Nitobe also has a brief reference to King William's letter in his *Intercourse between the United States and Japan*.[3]

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(1) *Nippon-Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben-und Schutzländern, Jezo mit den südlichen, Kuriles, Sachalin, Korea und den Lin-Kin-inseln von* Ph. Fr. von Siebold, herausgegeben von seinen Söhnen; zweite Auflage. Würzburg und Leipsic. 1897. P. xxvi.

(2) Ibid, P. xxvii.

(3) Dr. Nitobe bases his reference upon Siebold's *Urkundliche Darstellung der Bestrebungen von Niederland und Russland zur Eröffnung Japans für die Schiffahrt und den Seehandel aller Nationen*. Bonn, 1854, pp. 5, 6, 9, 10. See Dr. Nitobe's *Intercourse between the United States and Japan*. *Baltimore*, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891, p. 22.

After reading the Japanese version, I at once began inquiries for the original text, but for a long time without success. About a year ago it occurred to me to seek assistance at the American Legation at the Hague. At my request the Secretary of Legation, Roger S. G. Boutell, Esq., now Secretary to the American Embassy at Buenos Ayres, kindly took the matter up and discovered in the Royal Archives a printed copy, in a book the full title of which will be given in a note appended to the original text reproduced in this paper when printed in the Transactions of this Society. Both this text and the English translation I owe to Mr. Boutell's kindness.

In presenting this document to the Society, I have incorporated a few notes, for the most part translations of the comments interspersed here and there throughout the Japanese translation in Mr. Watanabe's work,[4] to which I have already alluded. Possibly most of these may be thought to possess small intrinsic interest; still they help us to picture to ourselves the situation of the reader for whose benefit they were inserted. There is one note, however, of special interest. It is that in which is found the text of the Shōgun's order of 1842 mitigating the severity of a previous order of 1825, which required the unconditional driving from the coast of Japan of all foreign vessels, excepting those of the Dutch on their way to and from Nagasaki.

The reply of the Shōgun's Government is taken also from Mr. Watanabe's work.[5] The text is in the Chinese literary style. It is to be noted that the document emanates not directly from the Shōgun as would naturally be expected, in view of the personal character of the letter received from the King, but this is doubtless due to the fact that the custom then was to regard Holland as a tributary state, and hence

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(4) *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin, Watanabe Shujiro Cho.* Teihō Saihan Tōkyō. *Tōyōtō Hatsuda Meiji 30 nen (1897).* P26f.

(5) *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin,* pp. 31–2.

the reply was delegated to the Shōgun's Ministers. This view is confirmed near the close of the letter by the use of the phrase "sincere loyalty" in describing the King's attitude toward the Shōgun, a phrase which could not well have been used in addressing one who was looked upon as an independent sovereign.

In other respects the tone of the reply is courteous as it would inevitably be in view of its being, in form at least, a communication from the Ministers of the Shōgun.

Fukuchi Genichiro in his *Bakufu Suibo Ron* (page 15) would appear to regard the mitigation of the severity of the old regulations as due to the influence of the King's letter. It is perhaps possible that in his comments he may have still further mitigations in mind; but so far as my investigations have gone, they do not reveal any evidence of such additional mitigations. As will be seen above, the Shōgun's order was issued in 1842, while the King's letter did not reach Japan till the seventh month of the lunar year corresponding to A. D. 1844. The day of the month is not given, but the first day of the seventh month fell that year upon August 14th. It will be remembered also that the King in his letter referred to the Shōgun's order of 1842 and by implication characterised it as insufficient to arrest the impending dangers.

How far this correspondence influenced public opinion in favor of opening the country to foreign trade we do not know. We know, however, that public opinion in favor of that policy was already forming. Count Katsu in his History of the Japanese Navy referring to this letter says:—

"In the seventh month of the first year of the Kōkwa period, namely, the forty-first of the sexagenary cycle, the King of Holland sent the man-of-war Balenbang (?) to the port of Nagasaki. The Commander of the vessel Captain Koop presented a letter from his sovereign. This being the transmission of most friendly suggestions was of no small advantage to us. As a result of this the idea that an exigency had arisen in which a Navy must be created dawned upon the minds of

the people and became in large degree the cause of the political Changes of succeeding years." *Kaigun Rekishi Vol. I. leaf of 2nd page.*

We know, too, that in spite of the precautions taken to keep such matters from non-official ears, some of the most secret affairs of the Shōgun's Government did leak out and gain currency among those interested in Western civilisation. For example, one of the secretaries of what might be called the "Privy Council of the Shōgun," at the time when the coming of the brig *Morrison* was first announced in Japan (1837) was in close and friendly relations with the Old Men's Club of which Miss Ballard told us in her interesting paper on Watanabe Kwazan, (22) nearly two years ago. This Club was made up of such men as Watanabe Kwazan and Takano Chōei, the advanced liberals of that day. It was owing to the report which this secretary gave of the purpose of the Government to repulse all attempts to land the Japanese castaways which the *Morrison* was to bring, that Takano wrote his *Yume Monogatari*, or as we might say his "Dream." This book, which was a veiled but severe criticism of the Government's intolerance in pushing its policy of exclusion, cost the dreamer his life. This we learn from a life of Takano which I hope some day to translate and present to the Society; for it well deserves the attention of all interested in the beginnings of the new life in Japan. Though the policy these men represented was temporarily in abeyance, their influence remained, and their writings gained no little currency. Among them were many translations from Dutch literature, mostly on military and other technical matters, it is true; but intimations of Dutch thought on political matters were somehow disseminated. Even in the forties there were clubs for the study of the Dutch language in Hiroshima, Kyōto and Tōkyō and no doubt in other places also.

Takano found employment as an instructor in the Dutch language in all three of the places named. He also had charge

for a considerable time of a collection of Dutch books at Nagasaki belonging to one of the Kyūshū daimyos. After he incurred the displeasure of the Government of the Shōgun, he found refuge in Satsuma for a time and later at Uwajima. It is highly probable that he knew of this letter. If he did, he undoubtedly made use of its arguments. In this indirect but none the less effective way we may be reasonably sure that King William did share to a degree worthy of wide recognition in preparing for the opening of Japan.

The Original Dutch Text of the Letter of William II. King of Holland to the Shogun.[1]

Wij Willem de Tweede bij de Gratie Gods, Koning der Nederlanden, Prins van Oranje Nassau, Groot Hertog van Luxemburg, enz. schrijven dezen Onzen Koninklijken brief met een opregt gemoed aan onzen Vriend, den zeer Verhevenen,

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1 The title page of the work from which this text is taken is as below. It is preserved in the Royal Archives at the Hague, but it said to be out of print and not easily accessible, though it should be found in the great libraries of Europe.

Neerland Streven
tot
Openstelling van Japan
voor
Den Wereldhandel
Uit Officieele, Grootendeels
Onuitgegeven Bescheiden
Toegelicht
Door
Mr. J. A. Van Der Chijs Phil. Theor. Mag. Lit. Hum. Doct.,
Inspecteur voor Het Inlandsch Onderwijs
Met Vijf Bijlagen,
Behelzende Eene Geschiedenis Van het Nederlandsch Marine-Detachement in Japan, enz. enz.
Uitgegeven Door Het Koninglijk Instituut Voor De Taal Land-En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch Indie.
Te Amsterdam, bij
Frederik Muller 1867.

zeer Doorluchtigen, Grootmagtigen Beheerscher van het groote rijk Japan, die zijnen zetel houdt in het Keizerlijke Paleis te Jedo, het verblijf des Vredes.

Moge dit geschrift behoorlijk worden overgeleverd in de handen van Onzen vorstelijken vriend, en Hem aantreffen in het bezit van gezondheid en tevredenheid.

" Voor meer dan twee eeuwen is door Uwer Majesteits Doorluchtigen Voorzaat, den beroemden *Gongen Ijejas* aan de Nederlanders, by Keizerlyk Bevelschrift toegestaan met hunne schepen ten handel naar Japan te komen; en uit kracht van dat zelfde Keizerlyke Bevelschrift worden de Nederlanders, Onze onderdanen, nog heden met alle vriendelykheid in Japan ontvangen en behandeld, en is bovendien aan de Opperhoofden van dien handel de uitstekende eer gegund van, op bepaalde tyden, in persoon Uwe Majesteit hunne hulde aan te bieden."

" Deze onwankelbare toegenenheid, aan Onze onderdanen betoond, vervult Ons met welwillendheid jegens Japan en met den wensch, om al dat gene te doen, wat de rust van Uw Keizerlyk gebied en den voorspoed Uwer onderdanen bevorderen kan."

" Nimmer hebben de Vorsten van Nederland en Japan briefwisseling met elkander gehouden. Daarvoor bestond geene noodzakelykheid, want de zaken van den handel en de gewoone nieuwstydingen werden medegedeeld door de Hooge Regering, welke onder Ons opper-bestuur het bewind voert over Batavia en over alle de eilanden, die in *Asia* tot ons gebied behooren."

" Maar thans voelen Wy ons gedrongen, om dat stilzwygen af te breken. Er zyn thans mededeelingen te doen van hoog gewicht. Zy betreffen niet den handel Onzer onderdanen op Japan, maar de hooge staatsbelangen van het Keizerryk. Zy betreffen zaken, waardig om van Koning tot Koning te worden behandeld."

" Wy zyn vervuld met bezordheid voor de toekomst van

Japan. Mogt het ons gelukken die toekomst voor rampen te vrywaren door onzen goeden raad."

"Uit de berigten, die jaarlyks met de schepen Onzer onderdanen te Nagasaki worden aangebragt, zal aan Uwe Majesteit bekend geworden zyn, dat de Koning van England, in de laatste jaren, eenen hevigen oorlog tegen het Chinesche Keizerryk gevoerd heeft."

"De magtige Keizer van China heeft na langen, doch vruchteloozen tegenstand, in het einde voor de overmagt der Europesche krygskunde moeten bukken, en heeft by het daarop gesloten vredes-verdrag, voorwaarden bewilligd, waardoor de aloude Chinesche staatkunde aanmerkelyk is gewyzigd geworden, en waarby vyf havens van China zyn geopend voor den handel der Europeers.

"Toen, nu dertig jaren geleden, de oorlog eindigde welke Europa had geteisterd, begonnen al de volken zich over te geven aan de bedryven des vredes. De Koningen, indachtig aan de les der wyzen, openden voor hunne onderdanen alle wegen tot den handel. De volken groeiden aan in talrykheid. De ontdekkingen in de werktuigkunde en in de scheikunde maakten den handen arbeid in vele opzigten minder noodzakelyk."

"Handel en nyverheid namen overal ontzettend toe,—maar des niet te min ontstond in vele landen gebrek aan middelen van bestaan."

"Dit was vooral het geval in het magtige England, in weerwil van den rykdom, de bekwaamheid en den ondernemingsgeest van deszelfs inwoners. Rusteloos nieuwe uitwegen zoekende voor hunnen handel, geraken zy, in hun streven on die te vinden, soms met vreemde volken in twist. De Engelsche regering is dan door den drang der omstandigheden verpligt, om hare onderzaten met kracht by te staan en te beschermen."

"Op die wyze onstond de twist tusschen de Engelsche kooplieden en de Chinesche ambtenaren te Canton. Uit dien

twist werd oorlog geboren. Die oorlog was noodlottig voor China, want vele duizende Chinezen kwamen in denzelven om; vele steden werden ingenomen en verwoest; en vele milioenen schats werden als brandschatting opgebragt aan de overwinnaars."

"Soortgelyke rampen bedreigen thans het Japansche Ryk. Een bloot toeval kan aanleiding geven tot botsing. Het zwerven van allerlei schepen in de Japansche zeeen zal menigvuldiger dan vroeger worden, en hoe ligtelyk kan er twist ontstaan tusschen de manschap van die schepen en de ingezetenen van Uwer Majesteits staten!

"De gedachte dat uit zulk een twist oorlog kan ontstaan vervult Ons met bekommering. De Hooge wysheid, die Uwer Majesteits Regering kenschetst, zal, dit hopen Wy, die gevaren weten af te wenden."

"Die wysheid is reeds gebleken uit het bevelschrift, het welk op den 13 der maand *Hatsigwats* van het jaar 1842 door den Gouverneur van Nagasaki is voorgelezen aan het Nederlandsche Opperhoofd, by welk bevelschrift eene vriendelyke bejegening van vreemde schepen is gelast. Maar is dat bevelschrift voldoende?"

"Daarin word slechts gesproken van schepen die door orkanen of door gebrek op de Japansche kusten worden gedreven. Hoe zal gehandeld worden met schepen, die om andere redenen of met andere niet vyandige oogmerken, de kusten van Japan bezoeken?"

"Zoo deze met geweld of onvriendelykheid worden afgeweerd, zal er twist ontstaan,—twist sleept oorlog na zich,—en oorlog gaat gepaard met verwoesting."

"Deze rampen zyn het, die Wy zoo gaarne van Japan wilden afwenden. Wy wenschen dit, uit erkentelykheid voor de gastvryheid reeds meer dan twee honderd jaren door Onze onderdanen in Japan genoten."

"De wysgeer zegt: in veiligheid moet tegen het gevaar, by rust moet tegen de wanorde gezorgd worden."

"Wy hebben den gang der tyden met ernstige aandacht overwogen. Het verkeer tusschen de volken der aarde neemt met rassche schreden toe. Eene kracht, die onwederstaanbaar is, trekt dezelve tot elkander. Door de uitvinding der stoomschepen worden de afstanden verkleind. Een volk, dat by deze algemeene toenadering in afzondering zou willen blyven, zou met velen in vyandschap geraken."

"Het is Ons bekend, dat de Wetten, door de Doorluchtige Voorzaten van Uwe Majesteit gegeven, het verkeer met vreemde volken naauw bepalen. Maar (dus zegt *Lao Tsou*) wanneer de wysheid op den Troon zit, munt zy uit door het bewaren des vredes. Wanneer de oude wetten, by eene strenge handhaving, den vrede zouden storen, dan gebiedt de wysheid om die te verzachten."

"Dit, Grootmagtige Keizer, is dan ook Onze vriendschappelyke raad. Verzacht de wetten tegen de Vreemdelingen, opdat het gelukkig Japan niet door oorlogen worde verwoest."

"Wy geven Uwe Majesteit deze raad met zuivere bedoelingen, geheel vry van staatkundig eigenbelang."

"Wy hopen dat de Wysheid der Japansche regering haar zal doen inzien, dat de vrede alleen kan bewaard worden door vriendschappelyke betrekkingen, en dat deze alleen door den handel kunnen geboren worden."

"Mogt Uwe Majesteit verlangen omtrent deze voor Japan zoo gewigtige zaak nader te worden ingelicht, dan zyn Wy bereid om op een eigenhandig schryven van Uwe Majesteit iemand naar Japan te zenden, die Ons geheel vertrouwen bezit, en die Uwe Majesteit al de byzonderheden zal kunnen ontvouwen van hetgeen Wy in dezen brief slechts in groote trekken hebben beschreven."

"Terwyl Onze zorgen zich aldus uitstrekken tot het geluk en den Vrede van het ver gelegene Japan, gaan wy zelf onder de smart gebukt, want het heeft de Voorzienigheid behaagd om onlangs tot zich te roepen Onzen beminden Vader, Koning Willem de eerste, die zich vier jaren geleden reeds verwyderd

had van de zorgen des staats—bestuurs, welke Hy gedurende acht en twintig jaren had getorscht."

"Wy zyn overtuigd dat Uwe Majesteit deelen zal in Onze regtmatige droefheid"

"Wy zenden dezen brief af met een Onzer oorlogschepen, het welk Wy hopen, dat Ons een antwoord van Uwe Majesteit zal brengen. Op dat schip bevindt zich Onze beeltenis, die Wy Uwe Majesteit aanbieden als een blyk Onzer opregte toegenegenheid."

"Dat schip zal overbrengen eenige geschenken voor Uwe Majesteit, beschreven op de hier bygaande lyst. Zy zyn van geringe waarde, en bestaan in voortbrengselen van de Nyverheid, de Kunsten en de Wetenschappen, onder Onze bescherming in Nederland bloeijende."

"Voor de aan Onze getrouwe onderdanen by voortduring bewezen begunstiging brengen Wy Onzen dank toe. Wy bevelen dezelve verder in de bescherming der Japansche Regering."

"Aan Uwe Majesteit wenschen Wy toe, dat het Almagtig Opperwezen, hetwelk de Regering van Uwen Doorluchtigen Vader zoo lang heeft doen voortduren en gezegend zyn, ook dezelfde voorspoed aan Uwe Majesteit zal doen genieten."

"Zegen, rust en vrede geniete het groote Ryk Japan in lengte van tyd."

"Geschreven in Ons Koninklyk paleis te s'Gravenhage, den 15 den dag van Sprokkelmaand des jaars 1844, het vierde jaar van Onze Regering.

(Was Get.) Willem.

De Minister van Kolonien:

(Was Get.) (J. C. Baud. 1)

For the Japanese translation of this letter see Appendix A.

English Translation.

We, William the Second by the Grace of God, King of the Netherlands, (1) Prince of Orange (2) and Nassau, (3) Grand Duke (4) of Luxemburg (5) etc., write this our Royal letter with a faithful heart to our Friend, the very noble, most serene, and allpowerful sovereign of the great Empire of Japan, who has his seat in the Imperial Palace of Yedo, the abode of peace.

May this epistle be duly delivered into the hands of our Imperial Friend and find him in good health and peace.

More than two centuries ago (6) by Imperial order of your Majesty's serene ancestor, the celebrated Gongen Ijejas, permission was granted to the Dutch to come with their trading ships to Japan; and in virtue of this Imperial order, the Dutch our subjects, are still received and treated with all kindness in Japan, and moreover the leading men in that trade have been granted the honor of paying homage in person to Your Majesty (7).

This unfaltering goodwill exhibited towards our subjects fills us with kindly feelings towards Japan and the desire to do all that is possible for the furtherance of peace within Your Imperial Domain and for the prosperity of Your subjects.

There never has been any correspondence between the sovereigns of the Netherlands and Japan (8). There was no necessity, for commercial affairs and general news were communicated by the Government which under our control rules over Batavia (9) and all the Islands (10) belonging to our Dominion in Asia.

But now we feel drawn to terminate this silence. There are important matters worthy of communication. They do not concern the trade of our subjects with Japan, but the political interests of the Empire. They relate to matters worthy to be treated of between King and King.

The future of Japan causes us much anxiety. May we succeed in averting imminent disaster by our good counsel.

From the communications that our vessels bring from year

to year to Nagasaki, Your Majesty will have learnt that the King of England has lately been waging a violent war against the Chinese Empire.

The mighty Emperor of China after a long but fruitless resistance, was finally compelled to succumb to the superior power of European military tactics, and in the consequent treaty of peace, agreed to conditions by which the ancient Chinese policy has undergone great alteration, and whereby five Chinese ports have been opened to European trade (11).

When, thirty years ago, the war which had been waged in Europe, was terminated, all nations began to work for peace (12).

The Kings remembering the lesson of the wise opened to their subjects every channel for trade.

Populations were on the increase. The discoveries in machinery and physics (13) rendered manual labour less necessary.

Commerce and industry rapidly increased everywhere, but, nevertheless, there was in many countries, a lack of the necessities of life.

This was especially the case in mighty England, notwithstanding the wealth, the resources and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants. Restlessly seeking new channels for their trade, in their efforts to do so, they sometimes came in conflict with foreign nations. The English Government by force of circumstances was then compelled to assist and protect its subjects by force.

In this way quarrels occurred between the English merchants and the Chinese officials at Canton. From that quarrel war arose. That war was fatal to China, for many thousand Chinese were killed, many cities were taken and devastated, many millions in treasure were yielded as indemnity to the conquerors.

Such disasters now threaten the Japanese Empire. A mere mischance might precipitate a conflict. The number of all sorts of vessels sailing the Japanese seas will be greater than

ever before, and how easily might a quarrel occur between the crews of those vessels and the inhabitants of Your Majesty's Dominion!

The thought that such quarrels may end in war fills us with solicitude. The wisdom that chacterises Your Majesty's Government will, we hope, know how to avert these dangers.

This wisdom was already evident in the mandate, (14) which was read by the Government of Nagasaki to the Netherlands Supreme Official on the thirteenth of the eighth month of the year 1842, ordering the kindly treatment of all foreign vessels. But is that mandate sufficient?

Only such vessels are mentioned, as are driven on to the Japanese coast by hurricane or lack of provisions. What will be done with vessels that come for other and friendly reasons to visit the Japanese coast?

Are these to be repulsed by force or unfriendly treatment? Will quarrels arise? Quarrels lead to war, and war leads to destruction. Those are the disasters which we wish to avert from Japan. It is our desire as a token of gratefulness for the hospitality enjoyed by our subjects for more than two hundred years. The philosopher says: "In security, we must guard against danger; in peace, against confusion."

We have watched the course of events with serious attention. The intercourse between the different nations of the earth is increasing with great rapidity. An irresistible power is drawing them together. Through the invention of steamships (15) distances have become shorter. A nation preferring to remain in isolation at this time of increasing relationships could not avoid hostility with many others.

We know that the laws of Your Majesty's serene Ancestors were issued with a view rigorously to restrict intercourse with foreign nations. But (says Lao Tseu) "when wisdom is seated on the throne, she will excel in maintaining peace" (16). When in the strict observance of old laws, peace might be disturbed, wisdom will succeed in smoothing difficulties.

This, Allpowerful Emperor, is our friendly advice, ameliorate the laws against the foreigners, lest happy Japan be destroyed by war. We give Your Majesty this advice with honest intentions, free from political self-interest.

We hope that wisdom will make the Japanese Government realise that peace can only be maintained through friendly relations, and that these are only created by commercial relations.

Should Your Majesty be desirous of receiving further information in this matter so important for Japan, then we shall be pleased, after receiving a letter from Your Majesty's own hand, to send an Envoy to Japan ; one who possesses our entire confidence, and who might be able to explain to Your Majesty all particulars which we have roughly outlined in this letter.

While we are anxious about the happiness and peace of far off Japan, we ourselves are weighed down with grief, for it has pleased providence to summon recently our beloved father, King William the First, (17) who had retired from the care of political affairs four years ago, after bearing their burden for twenty-eight years. We are convinced of Your Majesty's, sympathy in our lawful sonow.

We send this letter by one of our men-of-war, hoping that the same will bring an answer from Your Majesty. In that vessel is our portrait (18) which we wish to present to Your Majesty as a token of our sincere friendship. That vessel will also bring certain presents for Your Majesty as noted on the accompanying list. They are of little value and consist of reproductions of Industry, Art and Science, flourishing under our patronage in the Netherlands.

For the courtesy continually shown to our subjects, we offer You our thanks (19). We further commend them to the protection of the Japanese Government.

We wish Your Majesty, that the Almighty, who blessed Your serene Father with so long a reign, will permit Your Majesty to enjoy the same prosperity. May blessing, rest, and peace be granted to the great Empire of Japan for all time.

Given at our Royal Palace at The Hague the 15th day of February 1844 (20), in the fourth year of our reign.

(Signed) William.

The Minister of Colonies.

(Signed) J. C. Baud.

The Shōgun to whom this letter was addressed was Iyeyoshi, the eleventh of the Tokugawa dynasty. The reigning Emperor was Ninkō Tennō.

List of Presents Accompanying King William's Letter to the Shōgun.

Portrait of the King of Holland.
One pair of crystal (*suishō*) Candlesticks.
One fine (*jōhin*) Vase
Ten Lamps (*kwa-tō*).
Two Pistols.
One Carbine.
Books.
Maps.

The above list is posted in the Yūshū Kwan. Whether it is designed to be an exact reproduction of the list originally appended to the King's letter, there is no means of ascertaining, though the strong presumption is that it is essentially the same.

NOTES.

Among the following notes those included between quotation marks are translations of the comments interspersed here and there throughout the Japanese translation of King William's letter as found in the work of Mr. Watanabe Shūjiro, entitled *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin.*

(1) "'Prince' is a personal title."

(2) "'Orange' is the name of a place in France."

(3) "'Nassau' is the name of a place in Germany."

(4) "'Grand Duke' is a title of rank."

(5) "'Luxemburg' is the name of a place in Holland."

(6) "The first Dutch ships came to Japan in the fifth year of Keichō (A. D. 1600) and the permission to trade was handed down in the fourteenth year of the same period (A. D. 1609). Hence the period of tradal intercourse had extended over 236 years." (In this computation, in accordance with the prevailing custom in Japan, both the initial year and the final year of the period are included).

(7) "In olden times the 'Capitain' went to Yedo to pay homage every year, but from the second year of Kwansei (A. D. 1790) such visits were made every fifth year. The term 'appointed times' in the text (of the Japanese version) refers to the practice of recent years" (In the original text, however, the term 'appointed times' does not occur. The phraseology is quite as applicable to the old as to the more recent practice).

(8) "To say there had never been any correspondence been the two countries was a mistake; for on the 25th day of the seventh month of Keichō (1609) and in the tenth month of the seventeenth year of the same period replies had been dispatched from the Divine Ancestor (Iyeyasu) to Holland; but owing to the fact that Holland had enjoyed but few days of peace, there had been no record of letters received."

There certainly was a slip here as the Japanese translator pointed out; but he was at fault in the reason he gave, for a record of the former of the two "replies" does exist. Hildreth in his "Japan as it was and is," quoting from Purchas (Vol. i. p. 406), gives a translation of this letter from Iyeyasu, ("Japan as it was and is," by Richard Hildreth, author of "History of the United States," etc.; Boston, Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1855, page 144 forward).

This letter of Iyeyasu was forwarded to Holland by the Dutch vessel, the *Red Lion*, which left Holland with the fleet of Verhoeven, December 12th, 1607, which comprised thirteen ships, 1,900 men and 372 pieces of artillery. After various vicissitudes the fleet reached Johore on the peninsula of Malacca, and from there the *Red Lion* and the yacht *Griffon* were sent to Japan. They reached the port of Hirado in July, 1609. It was apparently as an immediate result of this visit that the order permitting trade was secured (see note (6)). The *Red Lion* arrived in the Texel on her return voyage in July, 1610.

The letter as given by Hildreth, reproduced from Purchas, was as follows :—

THE EMPEROR (?) OF JAPAN TO THE KING OF HOLLAND.

"I, Emperor and King of Japan, wish to the King of Holland (Prince of Orange) who hath sent from so far countries to visit me, greeting.

"I rejoice greatly in your writing and sending unto me, and wish that our countries were nearer the one to the other, whereby we might continue and increase the friendship begun betwixt us, through your presence, whom I imagine in earnest to see; in respect I am unknown unto Your Majesty and that your love towards me is manifested through your liberality in honoring me with four presents, whereof, though I had no need, yet coming in Your name, I received them in great worth and hold them in good esteem.

"And further, whereas the Hollanders, Your Majesty's subjects, desire to trade with their shipping in my country (which is of little value and small), and to traffic with my subjects, and desire to have their abiding near unto my court, whereby in person I might help and assist them, which can not be as now, through the inconvenience of the country; yet,

notwithstanding, I will not neglect, as already I have been, to be careful of them and to give in charge to all my governors and subjects that, in what places and havens, in what port soever, they shall show them all favour and friendships to their persons, ships and merchandise; wherein Your Majesty or your subjects need not to doubt or fear aught to the contrary. For they may come as freely as if they come into Your Majesty's own havens and countries, and so may remain in my country to trade. And the friendship begun between me and my subjects with you shall never be impaired on my behalf, but augmented and increased.

"I am partly ashamed that Your Majesty (whose name and renown through your valorous deeds is spread through the whole world) should cause your subjects to come from so far countries into a country so unfitting as this is, to visit me and to offer unto me such friendships as I have not deserved. But considering that your affection hath been the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertain your subjects, and yield to their requests, whereof this shall serve for a testimony, that they in all places, countries, and islands, under mine obedience, may trade and traffic, and build houses serviceable and needful for their trade and merchandises, where they may trade without any hindrance at their pleasure, as well in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall do them any wrong. And I will defend and maintain them as my own subjects.

"I promise, likewise, that the persons whom I understand shall be left here, shall now and at all times be held as recommended unto me, and in all things to favour them whereby Your Majesty shall find us as your friends and neighbours.

"For other matters passed between me and Your Majesty's servants, which would be too long here to repeat, I refer myself to them."

Hildreth notices the fact that Purchas does not give the date of the letter nor the name of the translator. The date was as above.

An excellent translation of this document is furnished by Sir Ernest Satow in his edition of "The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan," based upon the text in Suganuma's *Hirado Bōekishi* (History of the [Dutch] Trade at Hiradō).

Since a comparison of the two translations will prove of no small interest, that furnished by Sir Ernest Satow is also given. It runs as follows:—

"The lord of Japan, Minamoto Iyeyasu, in reply to His Highness, the lord of Holland. On opening and reading the letter which has been sent from afar, it was as if I were close before your high countenance, and I am, moreover, exceedingly pleased with the four sorts of productions which you have presented to me.

"Of the commanders, under-officers and numerous soldiers of the fighting ships that have been sent by your honored country to foreign regions, some have arrived at the port of Matsura in my country. That there may be peace and a firm compact with my poor country is my earnest desire also. If the countries are alike animated, what objection is there to annual visits, although they are separated by a thousand, nay ten thousand leagues of sea and land? In my poor country we correct the wicked and make them good. Therefore, the merchant-visitors who cross the seas all dwell here in peace. You may send your honored country's sailors to my country, and ground to build houses on and the port to which the vessels shall come, shall be as your honored country chooses. Henceforth we will keep up the relation of neighbours. The rest I commit to the capitain to report verbally. The time is when the remaining heat of the autumn sky is severe. Take care of your health. In haste. 25th day of the 8th moon of the 14th year of Keichō, 46th year of the sexagenary cycle."

[Sir E. M. Satow's *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, edited from Contemporary Records* by Sir Ernest M. Satow, K. C. M. G., etc., etc. London printed for the Hakluyt Society, M. DCCCC. page L.]

Of the license to trade Sir Ernest says: "It is not easy to give a close rendering of the license, of which a facsimile is given at the end of the English translation of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Vol., i, He assigns the date to 1611, but the Japanese date in the document corresponds to 1609. Perhaps the following is as near the original as it is possible to go:—

"Where a Dutch ship traverses the sea to Japan, whatever port it may arrive at, there shall be no difference. Henceforth, observing this, they may go and come, and there shall be no feeling of estrangement. Wherefore as above. 25th day of 7th moon of the 14th year of Keichō."

"To Chakusa Kurunheike," Ibid. page L. Sir Ernest understands the name to be that of Jacques Groenwegen.

(8) "Batavia is the capital city of Java (爪哇島). In the fifth year of Genwa (A.D. 1619) Holland changed the name from Torajo (?) (荅剌城) to Batavia."

(10) "The Dutch seized and brought under their control a number of the islands of the (East) Indies. These are called the Dutch Islands of Asia."

(11) "The five places were, namely, Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, Amoy, and Shanghai."

(12) "About the period Kwansei (A.D. 1789-91), there was in France a man named Bonaparte who through quieting internal disorder made himself King. He sent out his troops in various directions and conquered many countries, so that Europe was thrown into confusion; but in the twelfth year of Bunkwa (A.D. 1815), the various Powers of Europe banded together, took Bonaparte prisoner, banished him to an island and made peace for several years. From that time to this is just thirty years."

(13) In the translation "physics" is rendered *Gōri no jutsu* 離合 and this is explained in a parenthesis as the science of studying the nature of all things by means of analysis and synthesis (離合).

(14) This document was as follows:—

"In an order issued in the eighth year of Bunsei (1825) it was strictly decreed that English ships coming into Japanese waters should be fired upon and driven away. Dutch ships also, since, although unlikely, it was possible they might touch at other places than Nagasaki, were warned in view of their similarity in appearance to other foreign vessels, to exercise great care in shaping their course, lest they meet with misfortune.

"In these days, however, through the never to be forgotten desire [of His Majesty] to exercise benevolence toward all, it is decreed that even foreigners when, driven by stress of weather or other misfortune, they come to seek provisions, fuel, and water, shall henceforth not be driven away, but be accorded such supplies as they may need and only thereafter be required to sail away. Hence the Dutch may make their voyages in peace. This never-to be-forgotten benevolence toward even foreigners should be thoroughly understood."

(15) "A steamship is a vessel in which, in addition to a water wheel, a steam tank is provided; by burning coal the water in the tank is turned into steam which causes the water wheel to revolve and thus makes it possible to move the vessel forward or backward at will, regardless of rain or wind. Such vessels were first made, it is said, in the fourth year of our Bunkwa" (A D. 1807).

(16) "There appears to be no saying of Lao Tseu corresponding with this thought. It awaits further investigation."

(17) "William I. was born in the first year of Anei (A.D. 1772). In the tenth year of Bunkwa (A.D. 1813) he established the Kingdom of Holland and in the twelfth year of the same period he ascended the throne. In the eleventh year of Tempo (A.D. 1840) he abdicated in favour of the present King. He died in the fourteenth year of Tempo (A.D. 1843), after a reign of twenty-eight years, at the age of seventy-two."

(18) This portrait together with one of William III. is preserved in the Yūshūkwan at Kudan-zaka, Tōkyō.

(19) At this point there is a departure from the thought of the King on the part of the translator who describes the presents as "tribute." He makes the King say:—"Although they (the presents) are unworthy, I present them as tribute (献貢) in token of my thanks for the favour bestowed upon my subjects for many years."

(20) "Corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the fourteenth year of Tempo.

Reply of the Shōgun's Government (Bakufu) to the Government of Holland.*

"In the seventh month † of the last year a letter from Your Excellencies' Sovereign dispatched by a Dutch vessel arrived at the port of Nagasaki in our province of Hizen. The chief magistrate of that port, Izawa, Mimasaka no Kami, on receipt thereof forwarded it to Yedo and it has been attentively read by our Lord.

"That Your Excellencies' Sovereign in view of the trade relations which have subsisted for the past two hundred years should from so great a distance take into consideration the interests of our country and offer suggestions was most certainly evidence of hearty good will. Moreover, our Lord gratefully appreciates and returns thanks for the various precious gifts which have been presented.

Although the suggestions offered are worthy of adoption, there are reasons why this can not be. When the founder of our dynasty entered upon his career, intercourse (*tsushin*) and trade (*tsushō*) with countries beyond the sea were in an unsettled condition. Later when the time came for determining with what countries intercourse (*tsūshin*) should be permitted, inter-

* For the Japanese text see Appendix B.

† According to Bramsen's Chronology the first day of the seventh month of the lunar year corresponding with 1844 fell on August 14th.

course (*tsūshin*) was limited to Korea and Loochoo, and trade (*tsūshō*) to Your Excellencies' country and China. Aside from these countries all intercourse (*kōtsū*) was entirely disallowed.

"If now it were desired to extend these limits, it would be in contravention of the ancestral law.

"Hence we communicate this decision to Your Excellencies and thus inform Your Excellencies' Sovereign. Although this may appear discourteous, such is the strictness of the ancestral law, that no other course is open to us.

"As regards the gifts presented, it is reasonable that they should be accepted. Moreover, since they are the expressions of good will and have been sent from so great a distance, if in addition [to rejecting the suggestions] the presents should be returned there would be a still greater discourtesy. Hence they are accepted.

"By means of certain presents of small merit we give expression to the hearty thanks [of our Lord]. A list of these presents is appended (22). It will be esteemed a favour if they are not declined. Now since the ancestral law has been once fixed, posterity must obey. Henceforth, pray cease correspondence. If not, although it should be attempted a second or a third time, communications can not be received. Pray do not be surprised at this. Letters from Your Excellencies also will have the same treatment and will receive no response.

"Nevertheless, the trade of Your Excellencies' country will remain unchanged. In this also the ancestral law will be carefully observed. Pray communicate this to Your Excellencies' Sovereign.

"Notwithstanding what we have stated, our Lord in no wise fails in respect toward Your Excellencies' Sovereign, but on the contrary deeply appreciates, his sincere loyalty. Hence we his officials make this announcement. We may have inadequately expressed Our Lord's real purpose, but we trust Your Excellencies will understand it.

" Kōkwa Second year (Ki-no-to mi). (1845)
Sixth month, First Day."
(Signed) The Gorōju of Japan :
Abe, Ise no Kami, Masahiro.
Makino, Bizen no Kami, Tadamasa.
Aoyama, Shimotsuke no Kami, Tadayoshi.
Toda, Yamashiro no Kami, Tadayoshi "

APPENDIX A.

THE JAPANESE TRANSLATION OF KING WILLIAM'S LETTER.

NOTE.—This translation is taken from Watanabe Shujiro's Valuable work *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin*, but apart from certain unimportant variations, undoubtedly due to copyists' errors, it is identical with that contained in the life of Takano Nagahide prepared by Osada Kenjirō, and published at Mizusawa Iwate Prefecture in 1899 under the name of *Takano Nagahide Sensei Den*. The translation in Katsu Awa's *Kaigun Rekishi* would seem to be a more or less independent rendering.

和蘭國王書翰和解

鍵箱上書 〔天文方澁川六藏譯〕

此印封スル箱ニハ和蘭國ヨリ日本國帝（征夷大將軍ヲ）（シ奉ナリ）ニ呈スル書翰ノ鍵ヲ納ム、此ノ書翰ノコトヲ司ルベキ命ヲ受ル貴官ノミ開封シ給フベシ、

曆數千八百四十四年二月十九日（天保十四年癸卯十二月廿七日）

瓦刺汾法瓦（カラヘンハーカ）（和蘭國都）ニ於テ記ス、

和蘭陀國王密議聽主事

ア、ゲ、ア、ケアンラプパン名花押

〔文字讀得カラズ〕

鍵箱ノ封印和解

國王密議廳

書翰外箱上書和解

日本國帝殿下

和蘭國王

和蘭國王書翰

神德ニ倚賴スル和蘭國王兼阿朗月（オランエ）佛耶察國ノ地名納騷（ナツソウ）獨逸國ノ地名ノ「プリンス」自注爵名魯吉瑟謨勃（リキユヒムブ）兒孤（ルダ）和蘭國ノ地名ノ「コロート、ヘルトフ」爵名微爾列（サルレム）謨第二世謹デ江戸ノ政廳ニマシ〳〵テ德位最高ノ威武隆盛ナル大日本國君殿下ニ書ヲ奉ジテ微衷ヲ表ス冀クハ殿下觀覽ヲ給ヒテ安寧無爲ノ福ヲ享ケ給ハンコトヲ祈ル、

抑モ今ヲ距ル二百餘年前ニ世ニ譽高クマシマセシ烈祖權現家康ヨリ信牌ヲ賜リ慶長五庚子年和蘭國ノ舶始メテ本邦ニ來リ、同十四年己酉七月廿五日神祖ヨリ御印ヲ賜リシ酉年ヨリ、今茲甲辰ニ至リ、二百三十六年ナリ、我國ノ人貴國ニ航シテ交易スル事ヲ許サレシヨリ、此方其待遇淺カラズ、甲比丹（カピタン）モ年ヲ期シテ殿下ニ謁見スルヲ許サル古ヘハ甲比丹ノ江府拜禮毎年ナリ、寛政二庚戌年ヨリ五年目トナレリ、此ニ年ヲ期シテト云フハ蓋シ近代ノ事ヲ指シテ云フナリ、聖恩ノ隆厚ナル實ニ感激ニ勝ヘズ、我モ亦信義ヲ以テ此ノ變替ナキ恩義ニ答ヘ奉リ、彌貴國ノ封內ヲシテ靜謐ニ庶民ヲシテ安全ナラシメント欲ス、然リト雖モ今ニ至ルマデ書ヲ奉ルベキ緊要ノ事ナク、且交易ノ事及ビ尋常ノ風說ハ拔答非亞（バタヒヤ）瓜哇島ノ府ナリ、元和巳未年和蘭國答剌城ヲ改テ拔答非亞ト云フ人全島ヲ奪ヒ、闍瓦（ジヤワ）及ビ和蘭領亞細亞諸島和蘭國ノ人印度諸島ノ數島ヲ奪テ領スコレヲ和蘭領亞細亞諸島ト云フノ總督ヨリ告ゲ奉ルヲ以テ、兩國書ヲ通ズルアラザリシニ兩國書ヲ通ズル事ナシト云フハ誤リ也、慶長十四巳酉年七月廿五日同十七壬子十月神祖ヨリ和蘭國ヘノ御復書アリ、蓋シ和蘭歷代治平ノ日少キヲ以テ、文獻ノ徵スベキモノ無キニヨルノミ、今茲ニ觀望シ難キ一大事起レリ、素ヨリ兩國ノ交易ニ拘ハルニアラズ、貴國ノ政治ニ關係スル事ナルヲ以テ、未然ノ患ヲ憂

ヒ、始メテ殿下ニ書ヲ奉ズ、伏テ望ム、此ノ忠告ニ因リテ其未然ノ患ヲ免レ給ハンコトヲ、近年英吉利國王ヨリ支那國帝ニ對シ兵ヲ出シテ烈シク戰爭セシ本末ハ、我國ノ舶毎年長崎ニ至リテ呈スル風說書ニテ知リ給フベシ、威武盛ナル支那國帝モ久シク戰ヒテ利アラズ、歐羅巴洲ノ兵學ニ長ゼルニ辟易シ、終ニ英吉利ト和親ヲ約セリ、是ヨリシテ支那國古來ノ政法甚ダ錯乱シ、海口五處ヲ開ヒテ歐羅巴人交易ノ地トナサシム（五處ノ地方ハ即チ廣州、福州、寧波、厦門、上海ヲ云フ、其詳羅巴ノ大乱治平セシ時寛政ノ頃ニ當リテ佛國「ボナパルテ」ノアリテ國ノ内乱ヲ攘ヒ、自立シテ王タリ、是ニ於テ兵ヲ諸方ニ出シテ諸國ヲ併呑シ、歐羅巴洲大ニ亂ル、文化十二乙亥年諸國相謀テ「ボナパルテ」ヲ撓ニシ流竄シ數年ノ兵乱治平セリ、乙亥ヨリ今甲年辰ニ至リ正ニ三十年ナリ）諸民永ク治化ニ浴センコトヲ願フ、其時ニ當リテ古賢ノ教ヘヲ奉ズル民蕃殖セリ、然リシニヨリ器械ヲ造ル術及ビ合離ノ術（萬物ヲ離合シテ其實ヲ究理スルノ術ヲ云フ）ニ因リテ種々ノ奇巧ヲ發明シ、人力ヲ費サズシテ延スルニ及デ國用乏キニ至ル、又中ニ就テ武威世ニ輝ケル英吉利ハ素ヨリ國力豐饒ニシテ民心巧智アリト雖モ、國川ノ乏シキハ特ニ甚ダシキ故、商買ノ正路ニ據ラズシテ速ニ利潤ヲ得ント欲シ、或ハ外國ト爭論ヲ起シ、事勢已ムベカラザルヲ以テ、本國ヨリ力ヲ盡シ其爭論ヲ助クルニ至ル、是等ノ事ニヨリテ其商買支那國ノ官吏ト廣東ニテ戰端ヲ開キ終ニ兵乱ヲ起セシナリ、支那國ニテハ戰甚ダ利ナク國人數千人戰死シ、且數府ヲ侵掠シ敗壞セラルヽノミナラズ、數百萬金ヲ出シ火攻ノ責ヲ

購フニ至レリ。貴國モ今亦此ノ如キ災害ニ罹リ給ハントス、凡ソ災害ハ倉卒ニ發スルモノナリ、今ヨリ日本海ニ異國船ノ漂ヒ浮ブコト古ヨリモ多ク成リ行キテ、是ガ爲メニ其舶兵ト貴國ノ民ト忽チ爭端ヲ開テ、終ニハ兵乱ヲ起スニ至ラン、是ヲ熟察シテ深ク心ヲ痛マシム。殿下高明ノ見マシマセバ、必ズ此ノ災害ヲ避ルヿヲ知リ給フベシ、我モ安寧ノ策アランヿヲ望ム、殿下聰明ニマシマスヿハ歷代一千八百四十二年（天保十三壬寅年ニアタル）貴國ノ八月三十日長崎奉行ノ前ニテ甲必丹ニ讀聽カセシ令書ニ因リテ明カナリ（令書ニ曰英國舶日本ノ沖合ヘワタリ來ルノ時打拂方ノ儀オゴソカニ取計フニ付、和蘭船モ長崎ノ外ヘ乘リヨスルヿアルマジキニモ無之、船ノ形似ヨリ候ヘバ、兼テ其旨相心得不慮ノ過チ無之樣心掛ケ通船致スベキ旨、文政八年申渡置候所、當時何事モ御仁惠ヲ被施度ト難有思召ニ付、外國ノ者ニテモ難風ニ逢ヒ漂流等ニテ食物薪水ヲ乞フ迄ニ渡リ來リ候ヲ、其事情ニカヽハヲズ一圖ニ弓鐵砲等ヲ打放候テハ、外國ヘ對シ信義ヲ失ハレ候御處置ニ付、今ヨリ以後ハ異國人渡來候トモ、食物薪水等ヲ乞フ類ハ打拂ハズ、乞フ旨ニ任セ歸帆致サスベキ事ニ取計フ間、ヨツテハ和蘭人共ヘ心安ク通船イタスベク候、外國ノモノナリトモ箇樣ニマデ信義ヲ厚ク思召難有義ヲヨク〳〵相辨フベク候）其書中ニ異國船ヲ厚遇スベキヿヲ詳ニ載スルト雖モ、恐ラクハ猶未ダ盡サヾル所アラン歟、其主トスル所ノ意ハ難風ニアヒ、或ハ食物薪水ニ乏シクシテ貴國海濱ニ漂着スル船ノ處置ノミニアリキ、モシ信義ヲ表シ、或ハ他ノイハレアリテ貴國海濱ヲ訪フ船ヲ冒昧排擯シ給ハヾ必ズ爭端ヲ開カン、凡爭端ハ兵亂ヲ起シ、兵亂ハ國ノ荒廢ヲ招ク、二百餘年來我國ノ人貴國ニ留リ居ル恩惠ヲ謝シ奉ランガ爲ニ貴國ヲシテ此ノ災害ヲ免レシメント欲ス、古賢ノ言ニ曰ク災害無カランヿヲ欲セバ險危臨ムヿナカレ、安靜ヲ求メント欲セバ紛冗ヲ致スヿナカレ、謹ンデ古今ノ時勢ヲ通考スルニ天下ノ民ハ速ニ相親シ

ムモノニシテ、其勢ヲ能ク人力ノ防グ所ニアラズ、蒸滊船（蒸滊船ハ水車ニ蒸滊筒ヲ設ケ、石炭ヲ燒テ蒸滊筒中ノ水ヲ沸騰シ、其蒸滊ニヨリテ水車ヲ旋轉セシメ、風雨ニ拘ラズ自由ニ進退スル船ナリ、我文化四年丁卯年創造スト云フ）ヲ創造セシヨリコノカタ、各國相距ル遠キモ尙ホ近キニ異ナラズ、斯ノ如ク互ニ好ミヲ通ズル時ニ當リ、獨リ國ヲ鎖シテ萬國ト相親マザルハ人ノ好ミスル所ニアラズ、貴國歷代ノ法ニ異國人ト交リヲ結ブヿヲ嚴禁シ給ヒシハ歐羅巴洲ニテ遍ク知ルトコロナリ、老子曰賢者位ニ在レバ特ニ平治ヲ保護ス（此意ニアタルベキ語老子ニ見ヘズ後考ヲマツ）故ニ古法ヲ堅ク遵守シテ反テ乱ヲ釀サントセバ其弛ムルハ賢者ノ常經ノミ、是レ殿下ニ丁寧ニ忠告スル所ナリ今貴國ノ幸福ナル地ヲシテ兵乱ノ爲メニ荒廢セザラシメント欲セバ、異國人ヲ嚴禁スル法ヲ弛メ給フベシ、是素ヨリ誠意ニ出ル所ニシテ、我國ノ利ヲ謀ルニハアラズ、夫レ平和ハ懇ロニ好ミヲ通ズルニアリ、懇ニ好ミヲ通ズルハ交易ニ在リ、冀クハ叡智ヲ以テ熟計シ給ハンヿヲ、此忠告ヲ採用シ給ハント欲セバ殿下親筆ノ返翰ヲ給ハルベシ、然ラバ又腹心ノ臣ヲ奉ラン、此書ニハ概畧ヲ擧ル故ニ、詳ナルヿハ其使臣ニ問ヒ給フベシ、我ハ遠ク隔テタル貴國ノ幸福治安ヲ謀ルガ爲メニ甚ダ心ヲ痛マシム、之ニ加フルニ、在位二十八年ニシテ四年以前ニ讓位セシ我父微爾列謨（ウイルレム）第一世王モ遠行シテ悲哀ニ沈メリ（微爾列謨第一世ハ安永元壬辰年生レ、文化十癸酉年和蘭國ヲ興復シ、同十二乙亥年王位ニ封セラレ、天保十一年庚子年今王ニ位ヲ讓リ、同十四年癸卯卒、在位二十八年、壽七十二、）此等ノ事ヲ聞召シ給ハヾ、我ト憂勞ヲ同フシ給ハンヿ明ナリ、

此書ヲ奉ズルニ軍艦ヲ以テスルハ、殿下ノ返翰ヲ護シテ歸ランガ爲ナリ、又我肖像

ヲ呈シ奉ルハ至誠ナル信義ヲ顯ハサンガ爲メノミ、其餘別副ニ錄スル品ハ我邦內ニ盛ニ行ハルヽ學術ニヨリテ致ス所ナリ、不腆ト雖ドモ、我國ノ人年來恩ヲ受シヲ聊カ謝シ奉ランガ爲メニ献貢ス、向來不易ノ恩惠ヲ希フノミ、世ニ譽レ高クマシマセシ父君ノ治世久シヽ多福ヲ膺受シ給ヒシヲ眷顧セル神德ニヨリテ、殿下モ亦多福ヲ受ケ、大日本國永世疆リナキ天幸ヲ得テ靜謐敦睦ナランコヲ祝フ、

即位ヨリ四年、歷數千八百四十四年二月十五日（天保十四年癸卯十二月廿七日ニアタル）瓦剌汾法瓦（和蘭國都）

ノ宮中ニ於テ書ス、

徵爾列謨（ウィルレム）

テ、ミニストル、ハンコロニアン　外國ノ事ヲ主ル大臣ノ官

瑪陀（ト）、

APPENDIX B.

THE JAPANESE TEXT OF THE REPLY OF THE MINISTERS OF THE SHOGUN IYEYOSHI TO THE KING OF HOLLAND.

幕府ヨリ
荷蘭政府ニ答フル書

去歳七月貴國价船ヲ
シテ國王ノ書翰ヲ齎ラサシメ、我肥前ノ長
崎港ニ到ル、崎尹伊澤
美作守受ケテ之ヲ江戸府ニ達ス、我主親シ
ク之ヲ讀ムニ、貴國王
二百年來通商ノ故ヲ以テ、遙カニ我國ノ利
病ヲ察スルアリテ、忠
告セラルヽノ一事ハ、其言極メテ懇欵タリ、
且ツ別ニ珍品若干種
ヲ惠マレ、我主良用咸荷ス、理宜シク布報ス
ベシ、然レドモ今ハ然
ル能ハザルモノアリ、我祖創業ノ際、海外諸
邦ノ通信貿易ハ、固ト
一定セル無シ、後通信ノ國通商ノ國ヲ議定
スルニ及ンデ、通信ハ
朝鮮琉球ニ限リ通商ハ貴國ト支那トニ限
リ、此ノ外ハ則チ一切
新タニ交通スルヲ許サヾルナリ、今ニシテ
之ヲ布報セントスル
ハ、則チ祖法ニ違フナリ、故ニ俾臣等此ノ意
ヲ公等ニ達シテ、之ヲ
國王ニ稟ス、事不恭ニ似タレドモ然カモ祖
法ノ嚴ナルコト此ノ
如シ、已ムヲ得ザル所以ナリ、請フ之ヲ諒セ
ヨ、貨物ヲ惠マルヽニ
至ツテハ亦タ得トス可キモノアリ、然シテ
厚意ノ寓スル所、遐方
送致セラルル倘シ幷ビニ返納セバ益々不恭
ニ渉ラン、因ツテ今ハ
之ヲ領受シ、海晉ノ土宜數種以テ報謝ヲ表
ス、且錄別ニ副フ、却ク
ルコト勿クンバ幸甚ナリ、抑モ祖法一定シ、

關係遵ハザル可カラズ、後來ノ往復ハ幸ニ停メラレヨ、或ハ其然ラズシテ再三ニ至ルト雖ドモ受クル能ハズ、幸ニ訂シトスル勿レ、公等ノ書翰ニ至ツテモ亦此レニ準シ報ヲセザルナリ、但シ貴國トノ通商ハ則チ舊約ニ遵ヒ替ユルナシ、亦是レ愼ンデ祖法ヲ守ルノミ、幸ニ之ヲ國王ニ稟セラレヨ、則チ爾云フト雖ドモ國王ノ忠誠ノ意ニ至ツテハ、則チ我主モ亦深ク感銘シ、敢ヘテ疎外セザルナリ、因テ今臣等ヲシテ具陳セシム、言意ヲ盡サズ千萬諒察セヨ、不備、

弘化二年乙巳六月朔日

日本國老中

阿部伊勢守正弘 判
牧野備前守忠雅 判
青山下野守忠良 判
戸田山城守忠温 判

阿蘭陀國政府諸公閣下

APPENDIX C.

LETTER FROM THE SHŌGUN IYEYASU TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE PERIOD KEICHŌ, SEVENTH MONTH; TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.
(A. D. 1609 August.)

德川家康ヨリ荷蘭國王ニ答フル書

日本國主源家康　復章　阿蘭國主　殿下、遠傳信書、披而見之則如對高顏、殊投贈四種之方物、歡悅有餘、抑從貴邦遣異域兵船、大將裨將許多軍衆之內、到本邦松浦津、殊與陋邦可有和睦堅盟予所希也、兩國同志則縱雖千萬里之海路、年々往來、何有異哉、於陋國正無道令歸有道也、依之渡海商客安居必矣。貴邦眞如路數人遣置本邦、可被立館舍之地、著船之港、任貴國意分與之、自今以往、彌可修隣交者也、餘事付在船主舌頭、惟時秋天殘暑尤甚而已、自嗇不備。

慶長十四龍集己酉孟秋二十五蓂

家康
朱印

TRANSLATION OF DAZAI JUN'S ESSAY ON GAKUSEI (學政)

(EDUCATIONAL CONTROL.)

Gakusei is the control and the ordering of the art of Learning. The first thing in the world necessary in governing a state is man's ability (才). A man's ability comes from study (學問). Educational Control is to govern in such a way as to cause the people of the world to study, and to bring out their ability.

Men are by nature, either stupid, clever or foolish. Some men are clever without study; others, although they study, are not clever. But uneducated people with merely natural ability only know what to-day they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. They know nothing of bye-gone world-wide events, and therefore as the extent of what they hear and see is limited, their knowledge is slight. And though they may know enough to take care of their own bodies and manage their own homes, they are often led astray with regard to what is right and wrong and become bewildered. When a man of scant knowledge is in power and attempts to carry on important affairs of state, he is, as it were, like a man who looks at the sky through a reed.

A person, in this country, who has read books and studied can know of foreign events, while there are some now living, who can tell of the happenings of ages more than ten million years ago. The advantage of study is to protect sacred know-

ledge, and to ponder on the gains and losses of peaceful and troublesome times, and to adapt this knowledge to the present.

When To, the founder of his dynasty (960 A.D.) said that well-read men ought to be Ministers of State, he spoke words worthy of an Emperor. Thus in the old days of the former kings, there were schools (學校) to encourage the Samurai and the people to study, in the provinces of the princes, (天子諸侯ノ國郡) and also in all the cities, (鄉), towns, (黨州), villages, (里) and other places. The children of the samurai and people entered the Shogaku (Lower School) at eight years of age. The Shogaku (小學) was the small school of one's native place. On entering this school the children learnt to write and count, and also learnt the Rokko (六甲) and Goho, (五方).

The Rokko is the ten stems (干) having the twelve branches, (支) such as Ko, Shi, Otsu, Chu,—(the signs for the sexagenary cycle). The Goho is what is known as the terms East, West, South, North and Centric. Writing is the art of writing, that is of learning how to write about things. To count is to count in numbers. The above things are what a child of eight or more, who studies, learns, as he gradually advances with age.

At present, children of over seven and eight gather at their teachers' place and are taught to write, to sing short songs, and to read the Imagawa Jo, the Tei Kin, the Shikimoku, the eight counts etc. (The Imagawa Jo and Tei Kin are guides to letter writing. The Shikimoku is a Code of Laws. The eight counts include multiplication and division.)

The Lower School (小學) system founded by Shukaian (朱晦菴) and called "The Ancient Teaching of the Lower School," is not the teaching of the lower schools, but judging by what is recorded in books, it was all suitable for grown up people to study. For instance a youth would enter the High School at fifteen and learn the rules of Etiquette (禮) and the Music (樂) of the Former Kings, and also the rules of Etiquette necessary for admission to Court when becoming a samurai or great man.

Those in the higher school showing ability and ripened faculties were moved to the Kyo Gaku (the City school).

A Kyo or City (鄉) is a place where there are people assembled together in 12500 houses. The combination of families is five houses to a neighborhood (鄰); five neighbourhoods to a village, (里) hence a village is twenty-five families. Four villages make one Zoku (族). A Zoku is a combination of one hundred families. Five Zoku make one To (黨). A To is five hundred families. Five To make a Shiu (州). A Shiu is 2500 houses. Five Shiu make a Kyo (鄉). A Kyo is 12500 families. Among these, there are large and small jurisdictions; so in governing these places there are high and low officials, hence the five divisions Kyo, Shiu, To, Zoku and Ri.

The Kyo Gaku is the one school in the Kyo. The students in the Kyo Gaku are supported by the Prince of the Province (侯). Hence if there is a ripe scholar in the Kyo Gaku he is moved to the Provincial Lower School (其國ノ小學). The different princes' (侯) schools are called Provincial schools in contrast to the Emperor's School which is called the High School. The above mentioned High School and the Lower Schools are great and small in name. This explains the calling of High School and Lower School as honourable and lowly. For example, ripe students in the Lower Schools may be chosen out and advanced from the Provincial Schools and given over to the Emperor and placed in the High School of the Capital (京都). These are called Tribute Samurai or Presented Samurai. In choosing a person of a city or town for his virtue, skill and talent, he was tested by the City rules of Etiquette for Sake drinking and shooting. This has already been explained (in another essay).

As learning was abolished during the Chin Dynasty (秦 221 B C.) it is not necessary to speak of that period, though from the time of the Kan Dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) during the time of the six Emperors of the North and South, learning flourished.

From the time of establishing prefectures, Gun (郡) and Ken (縣), educational control differed from that of the three preceding dynasties. The Etiquette of City Wine Drinking and City Shooting was abolished and from these places sagacious knights alone were advanced But from the time of Kan to the dynasty of Zui (隨 250 A.D.) there was no literary examination because the old practice continued. From the To (唐) dynasty the practice of verse making commenced and thus began the testing of ability. After this there was a great change in the world.

Man has generally a special talent for verse making and this has nothing to do with his knowledge, ignorance, skill or stupidity. Versifying is an art, and though one able to write verses is an instrument of the State, it is not of importance in governing the world peacefully. But the use of it as one way of testing man's ability, differed from the ancient method. As a man's knowledge comes from reading, there are accordingly many clever persons among those who have learned to versify. Then why should this art be abolished? In the Middle Kingdom it was the general custom from ancient times until now, that persons should be advanced through ability and art. And as even the children of the masses were able to obtain rank and salaries, and advance to wealth and honour, therefore all alike strove to learn.

In foreign countries (China) it is not only followers of Confucius who are chosen as men of ability. There are regulations for examining all in the different arts and in Military Learning and the Laws of Warfare. Those who excel are called out and used by the State. Those who pass examinations and are chosen, are called Kiutei (及第) graduates. (3 highest grades of learning in the Chinese Empire, *vide* Williams).

Thus it was that the people of the world being able to do the work they liked, used to wish to become graduates.

In Japan too, during the Kuge (公家) (Court Noble) period, learning was made use of. Accordingly there was the

law of graduates and there were likewise a great many scholars.

From the time of the Bukei (武家) (Military) period, learning was abolished and all people thought it impossible except for priests. Was not this a state of affairs to be regretted?

When we arrive at this present decade we find that through the enlightened virtues of the late (Shogun) Toshogu, the samurai and great men had learning, and in the upper circles, from the Kuge and the Provincial Princes, and in the Lower, down to the very people it had become the fashion to honour and believe in the Confucian doctrine. It was through (the Shogun) Kembyo honouring Confucianism, that many lowly people were advanced through Confucian learning, while the samurai and great men and heads of hereditary wealthy houses made it their duty to read books. For five hundred years, from the beginning of the Military Period, Learning had never flourished to such an extent. But it was a sad thing that before a government for the encouragement of Learning could be established, Kembyo died.

The two reigns of (the Shoguns) Bunbyo and Shobyo (posthumous names) lasted but a short time and Confucian Learning was not advanced. For a time the civilizing changes slackened, but during the Kyoko period, (1716-1730) the State once more encouraged Learning. The arts of war and letters were advanced not a little, and at that time within the seas (in Japan) civilization advanced beyond what it was in the ormer reign.

What we personally pray is that we may consider the ancients, and that by establishing Educational Control we may thus truly spread out the root of peaceful change and government so that there may be no limit to the chance of bringing out man's ability.

From the times of the Genroku period, (1688-1704) a great many scholars have been taken from among the humble

and lowly, and given incomes and have mixed with the samurai of the Court. But they have gone no further than being entrusted with the literary work of secretaries. None are entrusted with governing. Those who become officials are all from the houses of samurai and great men with inherited incomes. In the Hitsumei of the Shosho it is said, "Of the houses with inherited incomes very few are guided by the rules of Etiquette."

Families with inherited incomes are satiated with food and over-heated by clothing and know nothing about learning and have no knowledge of humanity; and being ignorant concerning the treatment of the gains and losses of government, they are like drunken men, or just like a doctor who tries to cure a disease by his own knowledge without reading medical works or learning the ancient methods. So, what can be the result of this but many mistakes? Therefore, should we wish at the present time to uplift the art of learning, there could be no better way of so doing than by inducing the samurai and the great men with incomes to study. They can not be induced to learn by merely having a command issued for them to study. However, if there be an order of this sort issued or not, certainly those knights and great men who love learning and have ability and virtue, should be generously rewarded. Their rewards ought to be either by the bestowal of rank, gold, or silver, or by the increase of incomes or the gift of houses and lands; or by taking a person from the guards and giving him promotion or moving him to a better appointment according to his quality. It is human to consider the reward in work. If it is seen that the Government rewards learning, those who cannot attain to those rewards will be envious, and a man who has no learning himself will induce his children and grandchildren to study. It will not be necessary to follow the ancient method and build schools to cause men to study. Provided that people are rewarded if they learn, the lower classes are sure to study zealously. This then is one form of Educational Control.

And again, as it is human, it goes without saying that the samurai and great men and also the princes of 10,000 koku and more will wish to be employed in the highest places, so that if it is certain that educated persons will be chosen to fill large and small offices, there will be no need of issuing orders to make people study. This is natural logic.

To take from the guards is to take from the rank and file of the guards. To move in office is to change official work. So it is that from ancient times people with virtue have been advanced in rank. To increase the incomes of those having merit is the ordinary way. As people who love scholarship possess a kind of virtue, those who are rewarded ought generally to be raised in rank. To raise in rank is to raise from the 6th rank to the 5th rank and from the 5th rank to the 4th rank, and so on.

In the art of learning, Confucianism of course ranks first, then comes military learning. Military learning (武學) is the teaching of the "Military Laws" and "Armies" of (the Chinese Authors) Son and Go (孫吳).

In addition to these, there are a great many literary and military arts and accomplishments. Literature includes the ability to write poetry, and the rules of astronomy, almanacks, medicine, divination, penmanship, drawing, arithmetic, music and Japanese songs. A person who has read the old books of this country and grasped an understanding of historic facts has done so through literature. The art of war includes shooting, riding, fencing; the use of the fowling piece, spear and staff; boxing, swimming, veterinary knowledge, hawking. and so forth. Moreover there are people who have learned the different handicrafts and also some who are skilled in the kitchen and in the preparation of food. Or again there are those who are fond of the tea ceremony, and those who plant flowers and who breed birds or beasts, and those who are skilled in the divers small manufactures and arts. There is not one of these but is of use to the State. These arts and accom-

plishments need not be limited to one house. Capable examiners should be chosen and examinations held. From the great and small, honourable and lowly according to their position, the samurai and people should be called out and made use of, and salaries given them, and they should be kept during their lives. With regard to the children of these people, if they are not equal to succeeding to the work of their parents they should be returned to their original position in life. This is what is done in foreign countries (China).

In Japan most of the scholars and members of different trades and arts are connections of houses which have specialized in them for ages. And when these people are servants of the State (Shogunate) they have inherited incomes. The arts and accomplishments thus gradually become inferior, and the number of capable persons becomes very small. At times these people do not like their work, and samurai never learn the arts and accomplishments. This is the error of having the specialist who inherits his work. Specialists are the members of an established house which has passed down its handicraft for generations.

Man's ability is either much or little; much when a person acquires knowledge and is clever, little when he does not acquire knowledge and is stupid. Again in learning accomplishments and arts, there are some which are liked and some which are disliked, and even though one is ordered by father and brothers or commanded (督責) by the Government, it will be impossible to advance in that which the heart does not care for. Anything one likes, one will make daily advance in, and learn without waiting for orders from father or brothers, or commands from the Government, and acquire it quickly and thus become clever. Amongst people there are those with much or little ability; some who without trouble become clever; others who try hard and yet never attain cleverness. Therefore a person's accomplishment or art is that which he likes and which, after considering whether he has or has not

ability, he decides on; and so he studies that for which he has ability. This is the way to become perfect. But it is difficult to judge oneself whether one has much or little ability. One ought to study a thing one likes and if in examining the results one finds that something that one thought difficult at first becomes gradually easier, it is a proof one has ability for it.

But if something one thinks easy at first becomes difficult and impossible of execution this shows one has no ability for it. Ability or lack of ability in a thing is shewn after a trial study has been made. Then as shewn above, if it is difficult for one to judge of even one's own ability or the reverse, of course it is much more difficult for some one to judge of the ability of another. Therefore if the Government should persuade the samurai to learn accomplishments and arts, it would be best to have them learn that which they like and for which they have the most ability.

At present the Government controls the samurai of the Guards in these two particulars, archery and riding, but there are some in the Guards who like and others who do not like archery and riding. Again amongst those who like archery and riding there are some with more, and some with less ability, some who do well and some who do badly. Some who dislike archery and riding are partial to study, and the arts and accomplishments of writing, drawing, etc., or who like other military accomplishments or some of the other numerous kinds of handicrafts. Having these likes, and wishing to learn these arts, but being controlled in archery and riding, they have to waste their minds on these things, and therefore have no time in which to learn what they prefer. If one does not like archery and riding, and if after daily study what is learnt is not retained by the memory, no result is attained and years and months pass without one's becoming clever. This is the result of not bringing out a man's ability.

What I personally desire is that the universal compulsory learning of archery and riding be abolished, that even in the

Guards a man should be left to what he likes, in learning Confucianism and literary and military arts and accomplishments.

If the Confucian official's son has ability for military accomplishments, let him learn them. Should a doctor's son be partial to Confucianism, let him stand in the ranks of Confucian samurai. No matter what the profession of the house is, let him do that which he prefers. If people are caused to learn that for which they have ability the court will be full of able men. But in using man's ability this must be done irrespective of his rank or quality. For penmanship let any clever writer be called; for drawing call any good artist to draw. If he is rewarded after he has finished even if he does not come from an artist's house, he need not be ashamed should he draw well. This is the way to make use of man's ability. From ancient times until now this is how man's ability has been made use of. In the Middle Kingdom, Jun-u-i of the Kan dynasty was by order of the Treasury (大倉) made chief of the Rice Granaries, and Cho-chu-kei was made Governor of Chosho. Both of these men were famous doctors. Then there were Ogishi of Shin and Guseinan, Ruiko Ken, Oyojun, Shosuiro, and Ganchin Kei and others of To, all noble officials who being good penmen had the writing of the State intrusted to them. Soha was a general (將軍), but being a good penman he was often ordered to the Palace to take up paper and pen. Not only this, but in China no houses were established (there) simply for their arts and accomplishments, but whenever there was a man clever in any accomplishment he was called out and set to work. Thus there were many men of repute among the different accomplishments. Here in Japan it is a house concern and it is the custom that a person not belonging to a certain house shall not be made use of. Hence in that house there are none who become clever: just as the Kano house who make drawing their business were, with the exception of Motonobu, and Morinobu, all unskilful. The present students of Kano are so numerous that they might be measured by the bushel,

but they are a lot of shiftless fellows all of very inferior ability. There would be more likelihood of getting clever men by choosing and ordering ordinary people than by using these. The accomplishments, such as those of the Confucians and Doctors, are in just the same case as the pictures of the Kano house. Therefore there is the old law whereby the State used to sift these out once every ten years. By sifting we mean to separate sand by shaking. To pick out from the many those who are of no use to the State and cause them to retire, is sifting (沙汰). At present there are a very great many fellows whom one would like to sift. In the ancient times of the Genroku there were fellows of medical families who were sifted. This was good Government. These matters all pertain to Educational Control.

In the Middle Kingdom, for the examination of samurai for the arts and accomplishments, there was a regular course (Kwamoku) (科目). Kwa means a quality (品) and Moku a name (名). In the arts and accomplishments there are several qualities each bearing its own name. Taking the greater divisions there are Military Studies and Literary Studies, or in the smaller divisions in Literary Studies there are the Meikei (明經) Koji (宏辭) and other courses. Among Military Studies, come Strategy, Riding, Shooting, and such like courses; just as the different sages following the teachings o Confucius have the four courses of Virtue, Language, Government and Literature.

As man's accomplishments and abilities have several modes of application (器用), men are examined according to their ability by the different qualities (Kwa 科). This is the art of drawing out a man's ability. Should we now establish in our country the different courses in the arts of Literature and Arms, the samurai who comply with the courses could be examined, advanced and employed. The result would be samurai of all manner of abilities and accomplishments. But if they are only governed in relation to the accomplishments of the horse

and bow, their's will be but a narrow teaching. The need of Educational Control is simply to obtain as much as possible of man's ability, because man's ability is the instrument for State Government.

The saying in the Moshi (毛詩) that "Bunno was safe in the number of many samurai" is a poem signifying that the reason Bunno received the Kingship was through the strength of many samurai. Sai Sai (濟々) a figure (of speech) for many.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

By kind invitation of the British Ambassador, a general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy at four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, February 14th. H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, President of the Society, said that the minutes of the last meeting had been already published and might be accepted without reading them. As there was no other business before the meeting, he at once introduced the lecturer, H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Mr. John Carey Hall, whose subject was "Japanese Feudal-Origins: The Hojo Code of Judicature." The paper was too long to read as a whole, hence Mr. Hall gave a fascinating epitome, with historical explanation, to show the origin, nature and purposes of the Hojo Code, and with aptly chosen extracts for illustration.

After the lecture, the President said he was sure that all were entertained and instructed by what Mr. Hall had said and that all were grateful for the lecture, which he thought was too short. These were clearly the thoughts of all present, for no one realised that a full half hour had been used up in the exposition.

Mr. Vickers, as Secretary, begged to usurp the place of the President for a moment to put in words what he was sure all present felt: namely, grateful appreciation of the kind hospitality of the British Ambassador and Lady MacDonald in entertaining the Society. This kindness was all the greater,

since, on the eve of the arrival of Prince Arthur on a special mission from England to Japan and in the midst of many preparations, it must cause great inconvenience to the Ambassador and Lady MacDonald.

The President replied that it was a pleasure to entertain the Society, and expressed regret that Lady MacDonald was unavoidably prevented from being present. He then declared the meeting adjourned, and invited all to partake of refreshments which would at once be served.

ARTHUR LLOYD,

Chairman.

A General meeting of the Society was held, Thursday March 8th at the residence of Dr. N. Gordon Munro, 91 Bluff, Yokohama. The Vice-President for Yokohama, John Carey Hall, Esq. presided.

In opening the meeting, the Chairman said it would be a work of supererogation on his part to introduce to a Yokohama audience a gentleman of such an established reputation as that of Dr. N. G. Munro. He was pleased to see such a large attendance. That would perhaps encourage the Society in future to hold meetings in Yokohama.

After Dr. Munro read his paper on "Primitive culture in Japan," The Chairman said that it might seem ungracious after listening to the exhaustive paper read by Dr. Munro to suggest that there were any omissions, but one had occurred to him. In enumerating the investigators in the field of research, Dr. Munro had given a complete list as far as foreigners were concerned, but the name occurred to him of a Japanese who had played a prominent part in the work, namely Mr. Kanda Kohei, who in 1870 was Governor of Hyogo Ken. Mr. Kanda in 1884 published a work on the stone age of Japan, and this was translated by his son, Baron Kanda Naibu, at present Professor

in the Peers' School. This work was illustrated by twenty-four plates giving a complete list of the stone implements, and in a prefatory note it was stated that for one hundred years before he wrote, Japanese investigators had been giving attention to the stone age.

Dr. Munro said he was glad that Mr. Hall had supplied the omission. Mr. Kanda certainly had a most complete collection of implements connected with the stone age, and he considered that gentleman deserved great credit for his contributions.

Dr. Dearing proposed a hearty vote of thanks for his interesting lecture and for his hospitality to the Society. The Chairman, in supporting the motion, said he was sure the meeting would willingly vote thanks to Dr. Munro for his able, instructive and interesting paper; that he hoped the meeting would be the precursor of many similar meetings; that the good attendance would gratify Dr. Munro and in some measure compensate him for the time, labor and cost of his research. Dr. Munro briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks, after which the members spent some time inspecting the interesting collection of implements, relics, etc. pertaining to the stone age.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy on Wednesday, May 23rd, at four o'clock. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, in opening the meeting, announced the regret of the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, at being unavoidably absent. The minutes of the last meeting, which had been held in Yokohama, were read and approved. There being no other business before the meeting, the Chairman at once introduced Mr. A. M. Tracey Woodward, who read his paper on Japanese Postage Stamps."

The author in a few prefatory remarks mentioned that Japanese literature on philately is practically nil ; the only work coming under his notice is the "Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi," a pamphlet issued by the Printing Bureau of the Department of Communications during March, 1896. This he consulted for official dates and other data.

After the lecture, the Chairman said he felt sure of expressing the sense of the meeting when he extended thanks to Mr. Woodward for his extremely interesting, laborious and painstaking paper. He then invited remarks from members. In reply to a question from Mr. Gubbins, the lecturer explained that the term "archaic" is used to desfgnate the earliest, while the term "antique" applies to later types of stamps. Mr. Gubbins then called attention to a slight inaccuracy in the paper. The author spoke of two Imperial Princes serving in Formosa, whereas only Prince Kitashirakawa served there, while Prince Arisugawa served only in Manchuria. The author with thanks acknowledged the correction. Mr. Gubbins then said he wished to add his appreciation to that expressed by the Chairman for the excellent, accurate and terse descriptions of stamps—a thing which all must realize to be very difficult. In reply to a question of Professor Clement, the lecturer explained that philatelists have not set a relatively high value on the technique of Japanese postage stamps. The Chairman, again thanking the author for his paper, declared the meeting adjourned. The refreshments served towards the end of the lecture and the hospitality of the British Ambassador and Lady MacDonald in entertaining the Society were much appreciated by those present.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy on Wednesday, June 20th, at four

o'clock. The Honorary President, Sir Claude MacDŏnald, having sent a letter of regret that absence from the city made his attendance at the meeting impossible, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor Lloyd, took the Chair.

The Chairman said that the minutes of the last meeting had been published and so might be taken without reading. There being no other business before the meeting, he would at once call for the papers, of which there were two, to be read. The first paper was by Karel Jan Hora, Esq. entitled "Notes on Kamo Chōmei's Life and Work." As the author could not be present, the paper was read by Mr. E. H. Vickers.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Hora's paper, the Chairman referred to the fact that a comparison has been made, in one of the earlier volumes of the Asiatic Society's Transactions, of Kamo Chōmei with Wordsworth. For himself, he did not think that comparison was a very good one. It is true that Wordsworth was a poet of nature, as was also Kamo; but Wordsworth was a careless writer whose exuberance of thought led him to verbosity, while Kamo, from the very fact of his being under the limitations of Japanese versification, was obliged to be curt, precise, and to compress his thoughts into the smallest limits. He (the Chairman) thought that a far better comparison might be established between Kamo and Tennyson. In both these poets would be found a great love of nature, and equally, in both of them, a compressed diction which showed great carefulness in composition.

Mr. Gubbins said that it was difficult to make any close comparison between Japanese and English poetry. So far as careful finish was concerned, a resemblance might certainly be traced between the poetry of Kamo Chōmei, and indeed all Japanese poetry, and the work of Tennyson. But if an analogy had to be established at all, he was inclined to think that the selection of Wordsworth, as being a poet of nature, for comparison with Chōmei was correct.

In reply to Mr. Gubbins' criticisms, the Chairman said that he had been thinking at the time of some remarks made by Professor Chamberlain in his article on Basho and the Japanese epigram, in which he pointed out how closely Tennyson came, in many of his minute word pictures, to the condensed beauties of the Japanese epigram.

Dr. Greene was greatly impressed by the fact that the author's works are specially difficult to translate. The figures of Kamo are extremely complicated and therefore difficult to render in English. Perhaps only a man like the late Lafcadio Hearn might do something near justice to Kamo in translation. The translation of such an eminent scholar as Mr. Aston and also those of Mr. Dixon seem to leave something to be desired.

Mr. Vickers stated that the author of the paper just read was evidently of Dr. Greene's view. He (the author) had, with doubt and hesitation, offered some specimens of translation by both Mr. Aston and Mr. Dixon from Chōmei which seemed unsatisfactory. With these, he gave the ideographic text and his own literal translation. But Mr. Jan Hora had specially asked the Council to omit this part of the paper, if the Council thought it better to do so—the view which was in fact taken by those members of Council who had the paper under special consideration.

Dr. Asakawa said that it would be interesting to compare Kamo Chōmei with Yoshida Kenkō, the author of the "Tsure-dzure-gusa," who flourished a century after Chōmei. Both forsook the world and became famous as Buddhist poets, so that they are often confused in the popular mind. They, however, lived in ages the conditions of which were vastly different, for in Chōmei's time the social structure was rapidly tending toward feudalism. And yet both ages were similar in that the ruling powers were, to all appearance, passing from bad to worse. Again, the Buddhism of Kenkō was perhaps largely influenced by the Zen tenets, the coming of which into Japan probably antedated Chōmei's "Hōjōki," and yet the

simple and severe Buddhism of the latter poet as against the more elaborate and mundane tendencies of the sects current in Kyoto suggested the need of a Zen sect and largely foreshadowed its prevalence in later times. Chōmei and Kenkō may be regarded as indices to times and thoughts at once in contrast and in sympathy with each other, and their lives are full of close parallels that never meet.

The Chairman said all would agree that a comparison such as Dr. Asakawa suggested between Kamo and Yoshida would be extremely interesting, and that it would be still more interesting, if it came from Dr. Asakawa's pen. They all hoped therefore that he might make it for the Society.

The Chairman himself then read the paper on "The Study of Korean from the Standpoint of a Student of Japanese," by A. H. Lay, Esq.

Mr. Lay's paper, which occupied about one half-hour in the reading, dealt with the points of similarity between the languages of Korea and Japan. These similarities the author finds: (1) In the identity of the word-order in the sentence, which shows that the processes of thought in Korean are identical with those in Japanese—a fact which makes the acquisition of Japanese easy to Koreans, and vice versa, that of Korean to Japanese. (2) In the similarity of inflectional methods, such as the formation of the plural by reduplication, or by the addition of some noun used to express number, as also in that peculiarity of Far-Eastern speech by which adjectives and adverbs are treated, not as independent parts of speech, but as sub-divisions of the verb.

In the actual Vocabularies of the two countries, the author did not find much resemblance, though there are a certain number of native words in each language which clearly betray a common origin. The number of such words, he thought, might be much increased by further research, but independently of the words of native origin, both languages possess a large stock of Chinese words which they use in com-

mon and with but slightly varying pronunciations. This common stock is being constantly increased by the introduction of new words, imported through Japan, and used to denote the many things which have recently come into existence in Korea as a consequence of the great extension of the Japanese influence in the Peninsula.

Mr. Gubbins said he thought that Mr. Lay's very interesting paper had, if he might say so, one rather grave defect. This was the insufficient stress laid on the difficulties of pronunciation which lay in the path of the student of the Korean language. There were certain vowel sounds the variations between which it was difficult for the foreign ear to follow, but in the correct pronunciation of these sounds by the foreigner lay all the difference between being understood or not. There were initial or aspirated consonants very troublesome and perplexing both to distinguish one from the other when heard and also to pronounce; and there was the great stumbling block created by the final consonant in Korean which was only half sounded. He had been assured by Koreans that the English language had no proper *final* consonant, and that to a Korean ear there was no difference between the pronunciation of the word "kick" in English and the word "kiku" in Japanese.

In the course of his paper, the author had alluded to the Chinese-Korean side of Korean and to the increasing use of dissyllabic words formed from Chinese. The immense growth of the Japanese language in the same direction was a fact familiar to them all, and in connection with this very important matter he had heard people interested in the subject say that, if Japan went to China for materials with which to form the words she needed to express the new ideas she had received during the last thirty years or more, she was doing no more than other countries had done, and were still doing, in borrowing from the Latin and Greek. He thought, however, that there was one great difference between the two processes. In the one case, the languages borrowed from were dead, and this

fact of itself tended, he thought, in some measure at least to diminish the scope of this borrowing. In the other case, the language to which recourse was had was a living language and that too of a neighboring country; and under these circumstances, not only could the same check not operate, but the tendency might be in the opposite direction. However this might be, there could be little doubt that in the present situation of Korea the introduction of new words of the class indicated would proceed more rapidly even than had been the case in Japan.

Mr. Isawa Shuji, was much impressed by the paper, especially by what the author said concerning the final consonants. A close study of old Japanese would impress us still more with the similarity between the two languages. For example, the final "p" of old Japanese is lost, but it survives in the Korean. Then the Japanese "f" sound appears as "p" in the Korean. Finally, the "m" and "n" sounds met in Korean are faithful distinctions which had existed also in the old Japanese.

Dr. Asakawa said that, concerning the resemblance of Korean and Japanese words, it is interesting to note that studies in Korean are being made for a serious purpose by critical scholars of the first rank, namely by Professors Miyazaki and Nakada, of the Literature College of the Imperial University of Tokyo. They are studying the Korean, Ainu and other languages, with a view to tracing, by means of philological analysis, the origin of early Japanese institutions among those of the neighboring races.

The Chairman, referring to Mr. Lay's remark that further search might bring to light many more resemblances between the vocabularies of the two languages, said that in his judgment the resemblance would be found, not between Korean and the educated Japanese of the capital, but between Korean and the ordinary dialect of the northern and north-western districts of Japan, which differed very widely from the standard language of Tokyo.

The Chairman said that they were grateful to Mr. Hora and Mr. Lay for their interesting papers; and that the Honorary Secretary, in thanking the authors, might especially tell them that much discussion was elicited by their papers, and that the meeting devoted to them had been one of the most interesting held in recent years.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Vickers, asked permission to say that the Honorary President had sent from Karuizawa a letter to express regret at his inability to be present, that he (Mr. Vickers) felt sure of expressing the sentiment of all present when he added warm appreciation of the kindness of His Excellency and Lady MacDonald in to day extending to the Society the hospitality of the British Embassy —a cordial hospitality which the Society had this year several times enjoyed.

The Chairman declared the meeting adjourned, after which refreshments were served to those present.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms in the Methodist Publishing House Building. No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday, October 10th. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, occupied the Chair.

The Chairman announced that the minutes of the last meeting had already been published, and so they might be taken without reading. He then added a few words of welcome to the first meeting held in the new quarters of the Society. All would see that the new arrangements are a great improvement, and they should have a good effect in adding interest to the meetings and the work of the Society.

Professor Lloyd said that the paper which he had prepared for this meeting was based almost wholly on materials which

were published by Professor Inouye Tetsujiro in a book on Shushi Philosophy in Japan. Although he (the lecturer) might not frequently mention Professor Inouye, yet he wished to emphasize his extensive indebtedness to Professor Inouye, and he wished the audience to keep this fact in mind. Professor Lloyd said his paper was too long to read. It was impossible to make it sufficiently interesting by simply reading extracts from it. Hence he had made a summary of the paper. But he would not stick strictly to the summary; for even that would not make such a difficult subject interesting to the auditors. He would also illustrate and animate his lecture by reading some specially interesting and characteristic extracts. He then proceeded to lecture on the basis of his summary.

After the end of the lecture, Professors Vickers, Anisaki and Asakawa respectively added comments on points of the lecture which specially interested them. Then Dr. Greene said:

There were two points in Mr. Lloyd's interesting lecture, not to mention others, which in a special way attracted my attention, because they happened to touch upon certain fields into which my own observation has entered. The first was the suggestion that Yamazaki Anzan's type of Shintoism may have been moulded under the indirect influence of Christianity, or at least of certain Christian ideas which we may readily believe maintained their currency even after the expulsion of the missionaries.

This is a subject upon which one is bound to speak with much diffidence, because our knowledge of the religious life of China and Japan before the introduction of Christianity is too meagre to warrant the dogmatic assertion that this or that thought had in those days no place in the minds of men, or that there was not in the conception of man's relation to the Deity some germ from which the resemblances to Christianity which we find here and there may have naturally developed.

In an article on Tenrikyo which I read before this Society some years ago (see Trans. Vol. XXIII. p. 66) I referred to

the frequent use made of the term, "the Heavenly Parents," in speaking of the Deity. Now while I should not want to say that that conception of the Deity could not have had its origin in the purely native thought of China and Japan, it is difficult to believe that it would have gained its prominence and received the constant emphasis which Omiki, the founder of that sect, and her immediate followers gave to it, had there not been some indirect knowledge of Christianity. I refer especially to the founder and her immediate successors because there is no reason to believe that they came at any time under the direct influence of Christian teaching. Some of the later followers of Omiki did and they made large use of the current version of the New Testament.

Much the same might be said of the Renmon Kyokwai and of the Kurozumi sect of Shintoism, sects which have, so far as I am aware, no interdependence. Geographically speaking, they were originally somewhat widely separated. It certainly is reasonable to believe that some of the more striking ideas embodied in the Roman Catholic teaching of the seventeenth century had before these sects sprang up become wrought into the life of the people.

The other point was Mr. Lloyd's statement regarding the attempt of the Shogunate in its later years to fasten the Shushi doctrines even more securely upon the minds of the people, namely, that it tended to produce a reaction against that philosophy. Count Okuma in his interesting volume of reminiscences entitled *Sekijitsudan* lays great stress upon this as one of the causes of the unrest among the younger *Samurai* just prior to the Restoration. Through the Dutch at Nagasaki the more active minds among the *Samurai* of Saga had learned more or less of the freedom of thought accorded to the people of Western Europe and even knew something of the American Declaration of Independence. One gains the impression from Count Okuma's testimony that the revolt from the educational tyranny, the fruit of the orthodoxy of the

Shushi-ism of that day, was, possibly, the most powerful among the forces which destroyed not merely the Shogunate, but also the feudalism which it embodied.

Mr. Lloyd has wisely pointed out several other lines of investigation which promise important results. It is to be hoped that members of the Society may be stimulated by his valuable paper to study more minutely the life and teachings of some of these scholars who have contributed so much to the ethical thought of Japan.

I am sure I speak for the Society as I thank Mr. Lloyd most heartily for his most successful efforts to bring clearly before us the history of Shushi's philosophy in Japan.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Society's Rooms, 1 Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday, November 14th, with Professor Lloyd, Vice-President for Tokyo, in the chair. The Chairman said that the minutes of the last meeting, having been already published, might stand without reading. He said that there was no special business before the meeting, but he would remind those present that at the next general meeting, in December, officers and members of council for the ensuing year would be elected. Council would in the meantime lay a list of names for those positions before members; but members might propose and vote for other names than those in the list prepared by Council.

The Chairman then said that two papers were before the meeting. The first is by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.—an exemplary new member who had already within the year given the Society another paper—entitled "Nameless Selections" of Kamo Chōmei. This paper will deeply interest many persons, especially students of Japanese literature and conditions during the thir-

teenth century. But it was not well suited to read before the Society. However, he would read some prefatory remarks which suggest the character of the paper.

After reading the extract, the Chairman said that members would in due time have an opportunity to read the whole paper in the Transactions. He added that he now had much pleasure in bringing the auditors from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, and would therefore call on Dr. Greene to read his paper. Dr. Greene's paper gives "Correspondence between William II. of Holland and the Shogun of Japan," with many notes which to us seem naïve and suggestive.

After the lecture ended, the Chairman said that all were deeply indebted to Dr. Greene for bringing before them this interesting historical document. As the paper was read, all must have been struck by certain thoughts. Especially striking was the difference between our knowledge of Japan and Japanese knowledge of us at that time. The Japanese knew us pretty well. For example, when von Siebold had an audience of the Shogun, the interpreters remarked on a difference between his language and the Dutch which they had heard from traders. Von Siebold explained to them that it was the difference between High Dutch and Low Dutch. Similarly, the Japanese had been quick to discern other Western characteristics, customs and things, and so had gained a fairly accurate and extensive knowledge of us. But we were densely ignorant about Japan and the Japanese. A stadtholder of Holland wrote to Iyeyasu as "Emperor" of Japan. The Dutch, after a long period of trade at Nagasaki and many trips to Yedo to pay homage to the Shōgun, remained ignorant, or professed ignorance, of the true status of the Shōgun. Likewise, the Spanish and the Portuguese, after much intercourse with Japan, all failed to get much clear knowledge about conditions in Japan. All this shows that Japanese, then as now, and in other things besides military science, are much ahead of us; that they know about us much more than we know about them.

The Chairman hoped that others might speak.

Mr. Vickers, after expressing warm appreciation of Dr. Greene's paper, begged permission of the Chairman to say that, to his mind, the ignorance of foreigners about Japan at the time in question did not seem so culpable and stupid in foreigners as might be inferred from the Chairman's remarks. The Dutch and other foreigners were open, frank, had no motive to conceal or evade truth when plied with questions about conditions and things at home. They would gain favor by giving information sought. Their knowledge, like their books, was freely open to the Japanese. Furthermore, they were only traders and were mainly, or exclusively, in contact with official classes of Japanese who had relatively greater motive and capacity to understand things other than trade. Nothing hindered and many things favored acquaintance by Japanese with foreign things and conditions. On the other hand, foreigners had less motive and less opportunity to learn anything about Japan. Aside from the difficulty of the written language, they had to do with a people who are, if not secretive, at least less communicative or less able to communicate information that foreigners would understand. Precisely subjects of the kind cited as an example of foreign ignorance—viz., matters concerning the Imperial House—would be the last that Japanese would discuss. Then, the foreign traders had to deal with officials and agents of the Government—a notably discreet class—who were under stern and minute orders. They dared not divulge anything, while all other classes were shut out from the opportunity to do so. Every question by foreigners, if not strictly concerning trade, was indiscreet. All intercourse with foreigners, except a limited trade through Nagasaki, was strictly and under severe penalties prohibited. Permissible trade was rigorously limited and controlled. It was intermediated by officials and agents of the Government, and their functions, powers and mode of procedure were prescribed in the most minute details. Every

conceivable precaution was used to prevent information concerning Japan, its Government and institutions from leaking through the single narrow channel of communication with the outside world that remained open. If any foreign trader sought to peep over this formidable barrier of obstacles against information—a barrier possible only for the government of a nation in closely guarded seclusion—a forfeiture of the much prized trading privileges might be the penalty. These facts and others which might be adduced throw a light on the situation which enables up to see that, if foreigners knew less of Japan than Japanese knew of foreign things, the fact is not wholly ascribable to greater stupidity of foreigners and is not so discreditable to them as might be inferred from the Chairman's remarks. Mr. Vickers said the purpose of his observations was simply to bring out this fact, and it was in no way to disparage or minimize the keen perceptions of the Japanese either then or now.

Professor Purvis wondered whether Dr. Greene could tell the special object of the King of Holland in writing this letter. The Dutch King seemed to think that England was a "naughty boy" across the water who needed watching. Did he hope to make an alliance with Japan for that purpose? Dr. Greene replied that the King of Holland probably had no such thought, that there was ground for him to fear that some strong Power might open Japan by force and then more or less monopolize her trade, that the voluntary and general opening by Japan of her doors would give the Powers an interest in keeping the doors of Japan open to all on equal terms, and that this would be the best way for a small country like Holland permanently to secure her share of Japanese trade.

The Chairman again thanked Dr. Greene for his interesting paper and declared the meeting adjourned.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday,

December 19th, at four o'clock. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, opened the meeting with the announcement that the minutes of the last meeting, having been already published, would be adopted without reading. He then called on the officers to read their reports for the closing year.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. E. H. Vickers, then read

THE REPORT OF COUNCIL.

During 1906, Council has held twelve meetings, and the general meetings of the Society have been seven. Nine papers have come before the General Meetings:—February 14th, "Japanese Feudal Origins: The Hojo Code of Judicature," by John Carey Hall, Esq.; March 8th, "Primitive Culture in Japan," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro; May 23rd, "The Postage Stamps of Japan," by A. M. Tracey Woodward, Esq.; June 20th, "Notes on Kamo Chōmei's Life and Works," by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.; and "The Study of Korean from the Standpoint of a Student of Japanese," by A. H. Lay, Esq.; October 10th, "The Historical Development of the Shushi Philosophy in Japan," by Professor A. Lloyd; November 14th, "Nameless Selections of Kamo Chōmei," by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.; and "Correspondence between William II of Holland and the Shōgun of Japan," by Dr. D. C. Greene; December 16th, "Translation of Dazai Jun's Essay on *Gakusei* (Educational Control)," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.

The publication of these nine papers, in four Parts, will constitute Volume XXXIV of the Transactions. Besides enriching the Transactions by adding these nine new papers, the Society has this year re-printed eight old numbers, of which the stock was exhausted: viz., Vol. III, Part 1; Vol. VIII, Part 4; Vol. IX, Parts 1, 2, 3; Vol. X, Supplement; Vol. XIV, Part 1; Vol. XVII, Part 2. In addition, the re-print of two more numbers has been authorized: viz., Vol. VIII, Part

3; Vol. X, Part 1. Furthermore, a new index has been made and included in the re-print of Vol. X, Supplement (*Kojiki*), while separate copies of the index are prepared for supplying them to those who may desire copies.

Besides the nine papers to be included in the current volume of Transactions, Council has already accepted two papers for the next volume, has a third paper in hand and still other papers in prospect. One paper offered to the Society during the year was rejected.

The Society was, by invitation, represented by Dr. W. E. Griffis and Benjamin Lyman, Esq. at the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin held by the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia April 17-20th of this year.

Council has, with expert advice, arranged a new system of books to keep accurate records concerning financial accounts, stock on hand and sales of Transactions, etc.

Resident members are aware that the Society recently moved into new quarters, where it now has adequate and suitable provision for care and use of its Library, for storing Transactions, for holding all meetings. Never before was the Society for all purposes so cheerfully, adequately and suitably housed.

During the year, three members have resigned: viz., H. E. Lloyd Griscom, Rev. A. Pieters and Rev. B. C. Haworth. Forty-one new names have been added to the list of members—thirty-four resident and seven non-resident members. Resident members newly elected are:—F. A. Shattuck, Esq., Rev. A. K. Reischauer, Miss Richardson, Professor O. M. W. Sprague, James Archer, Esq., Ralph Morris, Esq, T. Kawashima, Esq. Rev. J. M. McCaleb, Miss Forbes, Rev. W. J. Bishop, Professor M. Anesaki, J. N. Strong, Esq. The Hon. F. O. B. Lindley, R. H. Clive, Esq., C. J. Davidson, Esq,, Major R. Cheyne, Captain R. Steel, Captain W. G. Salmond, Captain P. North, Captain R. T. Toke, Dr. S. Gerald Gomes, Captain

John Leader, Miss Helen Hyde, H. E. Luke E. Wright, Miss Elise J. Blattner, Professor D. Posdnieff, Carroll Miller, Esq., George Brinkworth, Esq., Langdon Warner, Esq., Rev. H. B. Walton, Professor J. Lawrence, W. Medley, Esq., C. B. Bernard, Esq., G. R. Bedinger, Esq. Non-resident members elected this year are :—Right Rev. Bishop W. H. O'Connell, T. H. R. Shaw, Esq., Oscar Raphael, Esq., Rev. Leigh Layman, Mrs. A. E. Buck, Mrs. Sarah P. Rohde, G. Yoshioka, Esq.

Thus, both the work and the growth of the Society during this year show unusual vitality, facts which it pleases Council to report and must gratify members to learn.

REPORT OF HONORARY TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN, SESSION OF 1906.

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Examined and found correct.

RICHARD J. KIRBY.
J. T. SWIFT.

Correct Copy,

Attest. J. McD. GARDINER.

Tokyo, December 8th, 1906.

The Chairman apologized to the meeting for not presenting a formal report as Librarian. Much of what he would have said had already appeared in the report of the Secretary for Council, and it did not seem that there was much left to speak about. The year had been one of hard work, for the task of moving the Library and Transactions had been a heavy one, and he could hardly say that the work was finished yet. He thought that now that the Society's books were housed in convenient and commodious quarters, it would be right and proper to give the Library a thorough overhauling, to weed judiciously and liberally, and to bring it up to date as a useful library of reference for students of Far Eastern questions. This he hoped would be accomplished before the end of another year. The Society should remember, also, that it was one of its functions to collect information as well as to publish it, and he suggested the compilation of an Asiatic Society's Scrap Book for which he asked the co-operation of the members. He had himself often come across papers and articles in magazines and papers, Japanese and foreign, which would be quite worth putting into a scrap-book and keeping for the use of students. He would be glad to receive such scraps and cuttings and would willingly undertake the formation of such a scrap-book.

The Society then balloted for Officers and Members of Council for next year. While tellers counted the ballots, the Chairman called on Mr. E. H. Vickers to read the paper prepared for the meeting by R. J. Kirby, Esq.—the author himself being absent.

The Chairman felt sure that they would all feel grateful to Mr. Kirby for preparing and to Mr. Vickers for reading the paper to which they had been listening. It had occurred to him while listening that the best possible commentary on Dazai's writings would be found in Japan of the Meiji Era, Dazai had protested strongly against the fetters imposed upon Japanese Society by the policy of the Government. Those fetters had been removed at the inauguration of the Meiji Era

and what Dazai had prophesied had come to pass. Freedom had caused activity, and there had been no lack of intelligent men for the service of the State.

Mr. Vickers said that, besides the remarks of the Chairman, several things suggested by this paper were worthy of speciel emphasis. Dazai's essay shows that a purely native leaven strongly worked to change the social and political order in Japan, before Perry came knocking at the door. Dazai, feebly yet unmistakably, uttered thoughts which others must have felt. He expressed discontent with an order, which, however useful at an earlier stage, had hardened into fetters on social progress and which especially made itself felt in abuses and injustices. He demanded for Japan also what was implied in the two leading watchwords of the French Revolution—watchwords which in fact sounded the death-knell of Feudalism and the old order in the West —: viz., liberty and equality, the "primal rights of man." Vague and cautious as may seem Dazai's utterances against that order and his demands for rights incompatible with it, we may, in view of the circumstances surrounding him, well marvel at his boldness and courage. The more we learn about Feudalism in Japan, the more we become impressed by its similarity in most essential features to Feudalism in the West. We know that the break-up of Feudalism and the dissolution of the guilds, which ended the old order in the West, followed from the growth of forces inherently germinated, forces which worked through freedom and equality to efficiency. So we are impressed, and we get a suggestive insight into the nature of social evolution, when we see another broad similarity between Japan and the West in the fact that in Japan also the ultimate and irresistible forces of revolution mainly originated from within. Finally, to those accustomed to think that the old order in Japan was mainly shaped by Chinese influence, it must be surprising to see Dazai repeatedly cite precedents in China to justify the changes which he sought in that same order.

Rev. Dr. Greene: This paper as both the President and Mr. Vickers most justly intimated throws no little light upon the movement which led up to what we call the "Restoration." It shows us that long before Perry's day there were those who clearly saw the weakness of the old regime as well as the means by which the life of the nation must be revived. The paper also helps us to understand that, while Perry and his treaty may properly enough be taken as marking an epoch in the history of Japan, they did not set in motion the really efficient forces which have created the new life.

Dazai pleaded strongly for liberty of thought and for the right of each man to follow the bent of his own mind in selecting the path to advancement. It is evident that he had disciples and thus represented a school of thought which attained to more or less influence upon the mind of his age. It is equally evident from what we know of the history of the Restoration period that these liberal thoughts were fostered by information regarding Western affairs which, as I have said on another occasion, filtered into Japan through Chinese and especially through Dutch channels.

When the time was ripe for the breaking up of Feudalism and the building up the modern political system, embodying these stimulating principles of liberty, so generally were they accepted that when the great Prince of Echizen, Shungaku, a relation of the Tokugawas, urged that, in reviving the direct rule of the Emperor, the Shogun should be constituted the hereditary prime minister of His Majesty, he found few to listen to his counsels. Heredity as a qualification for official position under the imperial rule was gone forever. The principles which Dazai so bravely proclaimed were formally accepted by the nation and they certainly, as the President had said, have proved to be the springs of the new life of Japan.

New Council.

The result of balloting, then announced, showed that only

eight (out of a necessary ten) candidates for council received a clear majority of all votes cast, that a ninth received just half of the votes cast, and that two gentlemen tied with the next highest number of votes cast. As no provision of the Constitution covers such a case, a motion was passed to the effect that the nine gentlemen receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected, and that a second ballot be taken on the two names that tied for tenth place. This was done. Officers and Members of Council so elected are:—President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald; Vice-President for Tokyo, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.; Vice-President for Yokohama, John Carey Hall, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, E. H. Vickers, Esq.; Recording Secretary for Tokyo, Professor E. W. Clement; Recording Secretary for Yokohama, Dr. J. L. Dearing; Treasurer, R. J. Kirby, Esq.; Librarian, Professor A. Lloyd. Members of Council: B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Dr. D. C. Greene, J. H. Gubbins, Esq., R. S. Miller, Esq., Professor J. T. Swift, Rev. H. H. Guy, Rev. T. M. MacNair, Professor M. Anesaki, Rev. H. St. G. Tucker, Galen Fisher, Esq.

The Chairman, having announced the above result of balloting, declared the meeting adjourned.

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